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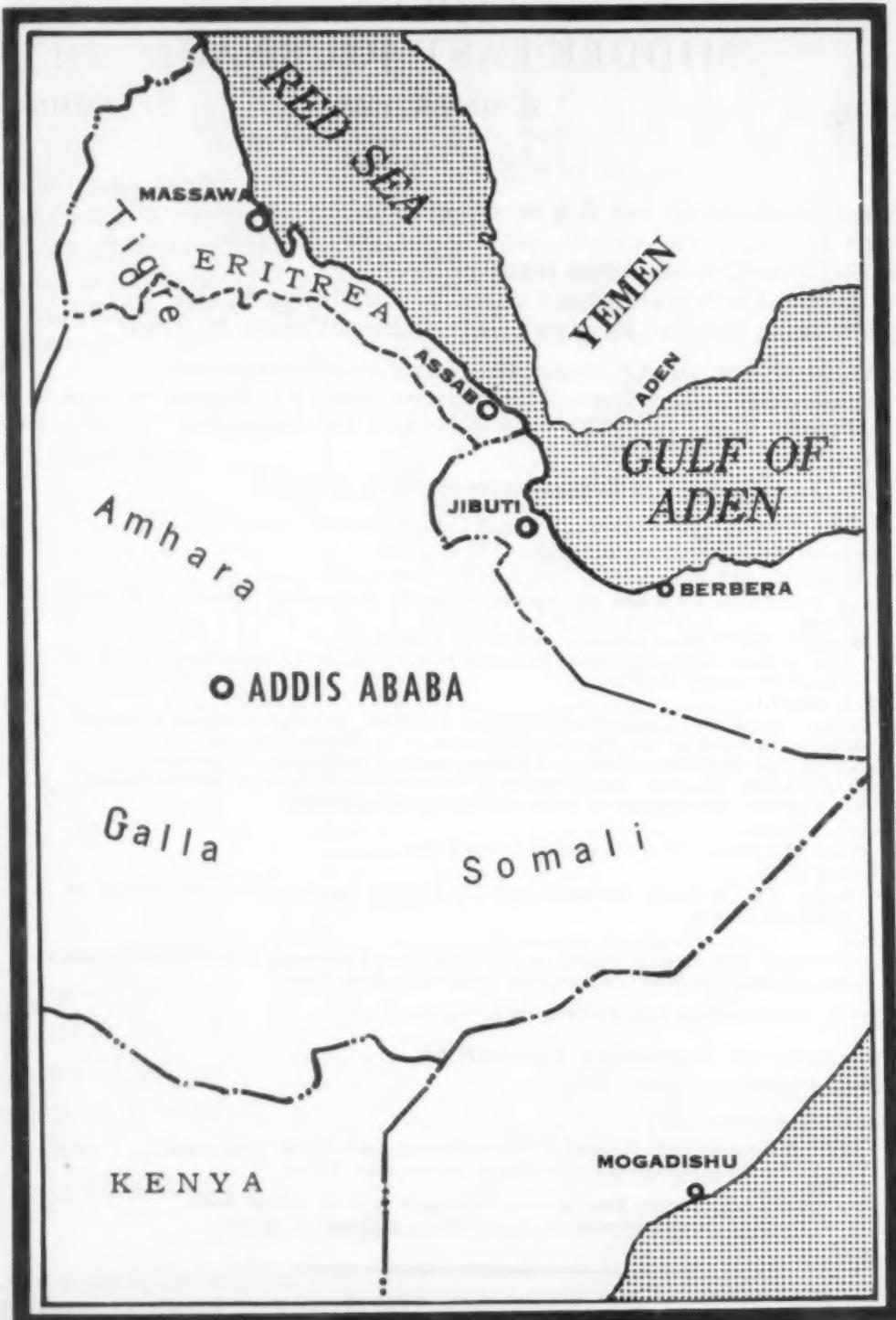
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SUDANESE NATIONALISM AND  
SELF-DETERMINATION PART I

*P. M. Holt*

THE MOVEMENT towards self-determination in the Sudan is a very recent development. Less than thirteen years ago there was no Sudanese representative body in existence. It was only a little over ten years ago that the British government formally envisaged Sudanese self-determination—a possibility that the Egyptian government did not accept until after the revolution of 1952. The final stages in the accomplishment of national independence have all taken place in the period between the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement on 12 February 1953 and the termination of the Condominium on 1 January 1956. The developments which have occurred have resulted from the interaction of two factors: the appearance of a Sudanese nationalist movement and the tension existing between the two nominal partners, Great Britain and Egypt, in the Condominium.

*The Mahdiyyah, the Sayyids and the Sudanese  
Nationalist Movement*

Many factors, geographical, historical and social, have militated against the development of a national consciousness in the Sudan. In a sense the state within its present boundaries is an artificial creation, the product of 19th-century conquests and Great Power diplomacy. Within its frontiers are the territories of two former indigenous sultanates: the Funj kingdom

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of Sennar, which fell to the forces of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1821, and Darfur, which was finally absorbed only in 1916. Suakin in the east had been an Ottoman possession since the 16th century. The remnant of the Mamluks, fleeing from Egypt after the massacre of 1811, retained for a few years their independence in Dongola. The Shayqiyah, further south, dominated the great bend of the Nile. The autonomy of these and other petty states was brought to an end by the expansion of Egyptian power. Under the Khedive Isma'il (1863-79) Egyptian rule was extended over vast areas in the south and west which had previously known no social and political organization higher than the tribe. The negroid and Nilotic peoples of the upper Nile and the Bahr al-Ghazal, pagan in religion and speaking a great variety of languages, were thus incorporated under one administration with the more advanced northern Sudanese, Muslims by religion and for the most part Arabic-speaking. The Condominium perpetuated this assembling of peoples of diverse ethnic origins and historical experiences, under a common and alien administration. The competition of the Great Powers for the control of Africa led to the delimitation of precise frontiers in place of the often vague and elastic boundaries that had been possible as late as the reign of the Khedive Isma'il. But a frontier, however artificial, becomes sacrosanct once it is drawn, and the suspicion that Britain wished to detach the southern from the northern Sudan has profoundly influenced the attitude of the Sudanese.

Sudanese nationalism was in its origins, and still very largely is today, a development of the northern, Muslim and Arabic-speaking areas. Even within these limits there were serious obstacles to be overcome. Distances were immense and communications difficult. The way of life of the townsman differed from that of the cultivator on the river-bank or in the rainlands, and this again from the nomad camel- or cattle-owning tribes. There were wide variations in the degree of literacy and sophistication. Loyalties tended to be limited and local—to the family, the tribe, the *tariqah* or religious order.

Nevertheless, it was in this setting that Sudanese nationalism originated and became an overwhelming force. Its first glimmerings were probably in the Mahdiyyah. The Mahdiyyah began in 1881 as a puritanical movement for religious reform, very similar in its ideals to Wahhabism. It soon acquired a political significance and became involved in war with the Egyptian administration in the Sudan. The Egyptian regime was defeated and overthrown and a Mahdist state was set up which controlled virtually the whole of the northern Sudan and some riverain areas of the south. Although the puritan ideals of the movement were not maintained, especially after the triumph and death of the Mahdi in 1885, and although there was much internal opposition to the rule of his successor, the Khalifah 'Abdallahi,

the state did not disintegrate and was only extinguished in 1898 by the superior armament and technical ability of the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Kitchener.

The Mahdiyyah contributed to Sudanese nationalism the tradition of a miraculously successful revolt against alien rule and the memory of an independent and militant Sudanese state. The campaigns and the tribal migrations of the Mahdiyyah shook both nomads and sedentaries out of their customary environments and widened their horizons, both physically and spiritually. The Sudanese before the Mahdiyyah had been a member of three communities: his tribe, his *tariqah* and the Egyptian Sudan. The Mahdiyyah smashed the Egyptian administration, suppressed the *tariqahs* and seriously weakened the traditional tribal authorities. In 1898 the alien administration returned, the *tariqahs* revived spontaneously and tribal organization was gradually reconstructed. But the events of the previous thirteen years had shown that social, religious and political groupings, which were deeply rooted in tradition or had an apparently firm basis of material power, were nevertheless impermanent.

The memory of the Mahdiyyah was not, however, wholly beneficial to the development of Sudanese nationalism. The Mahdi's claims had never received unqualified acceptance from his countrymen. The Sudanese '*ulama'*, some of whom had been trained at Al-Azhar, were for the most part convinced of the Mahdi's mission rather by his military successes than by his theological arguments and prophetic visions. The leaders of the *tariqahs* were divided in their views but tended to see in the Mahdi a threat to their own influence. From the first the Mahdi was opposed by the Mirghani family, who controlled the Khatmiyyah *tariqah*. This order was widespread and influential, especially in the eastern Sudan, and enjoyed the favor of the Egyptian administration. After the death of the Mahdi, the Khalifah estranged many of his more pious followers by his failure to maintain the religious standards set when the movement began. This, coupled with the fact that he withdrew the chief military and administrative commands from the riverain Sudanese and gave them to his own western kinsmen and clients, lost him the loyalty of the most sophisticated and experienced of his subjects.

The Mahdiyyah thus polarized the northern Sudanese into two groups. When the Condominium was set up, Mahdism was proscribed, the reading of the Mahdi's *Ratib* (prayer-book) was an offence, and the Mahdist organization apparently ceased to exist. The old *tariqahs* revived, notably the Khatmiyyah. The head of this order is now Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghani, the son of the leader who had most strenuously combated the growth of Mahdist power in the eastern Sudan. As the heads of the opposition to Mahdism, the Mirghanis were treated with considerable deference by the Condominium and British governments. Sayyid 'Ali was created a K.C.M.G. and K.C.V.O.

When a delegation of Sudanese notables visited London in 1919 to congratulate King George V on the Allied victory, Sayyid 'Ali was its leader.

Among the members of this delegation was a younger man, whose position at this time was one of apparent insignificance. This was Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, the posthumous son of the Mahdi by a woman of Darfur. His early life had been one of considerable difficulty. He had been a child during the reign of the Khalifah, when 'Abdallah was jealously excluding the family of the Mahdi from all positions of influence in the administration. He grew up to young manhood under the early Condominium, dependent on the favors of a government which was keenly on the alert for any revival of Mahdist enthusiasm. He lived on sufferance until the outbreak of the First World War gave him an unexpected opportunity to improve his position with the Sudan Government. When Britain went to war with Turkey, Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman was asked by the governor-general to use his influence against pro-Turkish sympathies. It was a curious echo of the call to the *jihad* against the Turks, made by the father whom Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman had never known.

During the next twenty years, Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman gained open recognition for himself and his *tariqah* from the Condominium government. He himself became a wealthy landowner and acquired great influence on the White Nile (where his holdings lay) and in the western Sudan. When the first generation of Sudanese nationalists appeared in the twenties and thirties, several of their leaders were in close contact with him. Thus Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman came to occupy a dual position. To the members of his *tariqah* he held a mystical position as the son of the Expected Mahdi. To the political nationalists his father was a religious reformer and nationalist leader and he himself was significant as the rival of Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghani, who displayed no political ambitions and was too much in the favor of the government.

During the thirties and forties there was a change in the standing of the two Sayyids in regard to the nationalist movement. The rise in Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman's status brought its own nemesis. He too received his knighthood—in 1926, ten years after Sayyid 'Ali. His ambition and undoubted ability began to alarm many Sudanese, who feared the restoration of a Mahdist monarchy in his person. His growing wealth may also have been a cause of offence in a country where great capitalists are few and there is a pronounced feeling of social equality. In contrast Sayyid 'Ali remained withdrawn from politics but uneasily aware of the rapid rise of his rival to parity with himself in the esteem of the government. He began to strengthen his ties with Egypt—at a time when Egyptian political influence was at its nadir in the Sudan and the government viewed with apprehension any possibility

of its revival. Thus the situation of the twenties was being reversed. Sayyid 'Ali rather than Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman now represented opposition to the Condominium government, and political nationalism became associated with him and his *tariqah*.

This change in the position of the two Sayyids explains the apparent paradox in the result of the Sudanese general election of 1953, when, to all appearances a strongly nationalist public opinion swept into power a party ostensibly devoted to unity with Egypt. Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman's party, advocating total independence, was heavily defeated. The key to the situation lay, not in the slogans, but in the relationships of the parties to the two Sayyids and of these to the Condominium government. As Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman had grown in governmental favor, he had lost in national prestige.

#### *Development of Political Parties*

Although the two Sayyids played, directly or indirectly, a considerable part in the rise of Sudanese nationalism, the nationalism movement from the later thirties developed its own institutions and threw up its own leaders. The institutions were the Graduates' General Congress and the political parties, notably the Ashiqqa' and Ummah parties. The leaders, of whom the most notable was Sayyid Isma'il al-Azhari, now prime minister of the Sudanese Republic, were members of the new middle-class which had grown up under the Condominium. Educated along English lines in the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, they were the first generation of Sudanese to grow to maturity under the impact and the challenge of western influences. Their experience was not confined to the Sudan. Some of them, including Sayyid al-Azhari himself, had studied at the American University of Beirut. They were frequent visitors to Egypt and occasionally reached England. But the direct influence of travel to England was to be felt more by the younger Sudanese, who came over in increasing numbers for training after the Second World War. Men of this stamp regarded nationalism from a secular point of view; the Islamic nationalism of the Mahdiyyah was instinctively felt to be an anachronism and failed to inspire them. Their problem was to communicate their political aims to the mass of their countrymen, to whom the phrases of western political thought were lacking in emotional and intellectual content. Hence they were driven to ally themselves with one or the other of the Sayyids, whose popular prestige was enormous and who had a firm command over Sudanese emotions.

The relationship between the nationalists and the Sayyids was thus in origin a marriage of convenience. It gave ground for two criticisms which were frequently made in the later years of the Condominium—that the Sudanese nationalists were not representative of the country as a whole, and

that the Sudanese political parties were an unreal façade covering the old rivalry between the Mahdist and Mirghanist *tariqahs*. Both these criticisms had a considerable element of truth in them at the outset but they did not take into account the possibility of development and they have become progressively less true as the Sudan has moved towards independence. The political education of the mass of the Sudanese has as yet been both brief and superficial, but the ancient loyalties to the Sayyids and the *tariqahs* have played their part in mediating to the less sophisticated elements of the population something of the ideas of the political nationalists. By a paradox not unknown in countries passing through this phase of development, the nationalist leaders have become more representative because they have succeeded in communicating their aims to their countrymen. The fact that Sayyid al-Azhari has now become a national figure in his own right, and that political groupings are developing an independence of the *tariqahs*, was shown in December 1954, when al-Azhari dismissed from his cabinet an able minister, Sayyid Mirghani Hamzah, who was particularly favored by the Khatmiyyah leadership.

Political organization began, in a veiled form, after the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Sudanese resentment that their future should be decided by negotiations between two foreign powers found an outlet in the foundation of a body called the Graduates' General Congress. Its constitution was made known on 12 March 1938. Membership was confined to "graduates," i.e., persons who had completed at least the intermediate stage of education. Its object was "to promote the general welfare of the country and its graduates." The Sudan Government, from the first refused to regard the Congress as a political body and would not accept its views as representative of Sudanese opinion.

Controversy over these points arose in 1942. The war was in a highly critical phase. The Atlantic Charter had been published. The Civil Secretary, who controlled the administration, was Sir Douglas Newbold, a man of liberal views and possessed of much goodwill for the educated Sudanese. On 3 April the committee of the Congress presented to the Civil Secretary a memorandum stating twelve demands. All of these had political implications, and the first went to the heart of the matter. It asked for:

The issue, on the first possible opportunity, by the British and Egyptian governments, of a joint declaration granting the Sudan, in its geographical boundaries, the right of self-determination, directly after this war; this right to be safeguarded by guarantees assuring full liberty of expression in connexion therewith; as well as guarantees assuring the Sudanese the right of determining their natural rights with Egypt in a special agreement between the Egyptian and Sudanese nations.

The Civil Secretary's reply was crushing. The government was not prepared to discuss the revision of the Condominium Agreement with "any body of persons." The Congress had forfeited the confidence of the government by submitting the memorandum, since it had thereby committed the errors of "claiming to represent all the Sudanese" and "attempting to turn itself into a political national body." Finally the Congress was informed that the government was "constantly studying and carrying out plans for the closer association of the Sudanese with the direction of their affairs and for the general welfare and orderly development of this country and its people." This however was "the duty and business of the Sudan Government alone." Further correspondence took place and the exchange was concluded by Newbold in September.

Although the Congress had stuck to its guns in these exchanges, a rift had appeared between the moderate group, including the president, Sayyid Ibrahim Ahmad (later Minister of Finance), who were prepared to trust the government further, and those who felt that the Civil Secretary's rebuff was aimed at the educated Sudanese as a class and indicated a preference for traditional, if not reactionary, men and methods of government. The leading figure in this second group was Isma'il al-Azhari, who was a teacher of mathematics in the Gordon Memorial College, then a secondary school. From this point al-Azhari's influence steadily increased, both in the Congress and among the students. The capture of the Congress by the Azhari group was, however, accompanied by a decline in the prestige of this body, since the educational qualification for membership was lowered and canvassing was carried on indiscriminately. The attempt to gain political recognition for the Congress had failed. Al-Azhari's attempt to turn it into a political party by swamping the original membership had succeeded but proved unprofitable. The rift between the moderates and extremists in 1942 was the basis of party-grouping during the next thirteen years.

The result of the emergence of al-Azhari as a leading political figure was the formation of a party around him known as the Ashiqqa' (Blood-brothers). The aim of this group was unity with Egypt. It worked in alliance with the Khatmiyyah *tariqah*, although Sayyid 'Ali himself remained cautious over entering into any political commitments. From the other Congress groups, which had been prepared to view the acts of the Condominium government with more patience, developed the Ummah party, under the patronage of Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, whose son, Sayyid Siddiq, became its titular head. Its aim was the complete independence of the Sudan. In the circumstances, the alliance of the moderates with the Mahdist *tariqah* was understandable, but it seriously prejudiced their position in the eyes of many Sudanese, particularly the rising generation of students. The

ambition of Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman, the favor with which he had come to be regarded by the Condominium government, and unhappy memories of the Mahdiyyah obscured the individual merits of members of the Ummah party, some of whom were among the most able and experienced Sudanese. Even the name of the party had to some ears a slightly ominous sound. Although *ummah* is now the current Arabic word for nation, its older significance of the Islamic community persists. And in Mahdist usage, the Islamic community was restricted to those who accepted the mission of the Mahdi, all other Muslims being regarded as infidels.

There were many Sudanese who deplored the division in the nationalist ranks. At the end of the war it seemed that the Sudanese case might go by default for lack of agreement among the leaders of public opinion. So when the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 was agreed upon between the British and Egyptian governments in 1945, a number of independent members of the Congress worked out a formula which was accepted by both sides. The key demand was for the setting up of a free democratic government in union with Egypt and in alliance with Britain. This government was to decide upon both the form of union and the type of alliance. An all-party delegation then went to Cairo in March 1946, but talks with Egyptian politicians soon showed that only the Ashiqqa' program of unity under the Egyptian crown was acceptable there. The supporters of independence thereupon returned to Khartoum with the division of Sudanese nationalism more marked than ever.

The next crisis of Sudanese nationalism occurred in 1948. The Sudan Government wished to set up a Legislative Assembly and an Executive Council as a means of associating Sudanese effectively with the hitherto British-controlled administration. The Egyptian government refused to endorse this modification of the Sudanese constitution, and ultimately the required legislation was promulgated with the unilateral authorization of the British government. The Ashiqqa' responded by boycotting the elections, held in November, and by staging demonstrations. Denunciations of the Legislative Assembly as a stooge of the British found a ready hearing among the students. Throughout the next five years the schools and colleges witnessed recurrent strikes and demonstrations, which menaced the quality and quantity of their output at a time when the need for educated men and women was rapidly increasing. At a demonstration in Omdurman al-Azhari himself was arrested and underwent a period of imprisonment.

Under the circumstances the Ummah party naturally won the election and controlled the Legislative Assembly. Meanwhile a new grouping of its opponents was preparing. Al-Azhari's popularity began to suffer from the closeness of his association with Egypt, much as Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman's

had suffered from his relations with the Sudan Government. Moreover, some of the Sudanese were becoming less enthusiastic for a close association with Egypt, the political condition of Egypt at that time being in certain respects unhealthy. A new political organization was therefore formed in August 1949, known as *Al-Jabhab al-Wataniyyah*, the National Front, aiming at nothing closer than "dominion status" under the Egyptian crown. The backing of Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghani and the numerical support of the Khatmiyyah *tariqah* were now transferred to this more moderate group. For a time al-Azhari seemed in eclipse. In 1951 the party split between its founder and a rival leader, Sayyid Muhammad Nur al-Din. An Egyptian attempt to compose their differences was later successful.

At the end of 1951 it seemed likely that Sudanese political life might degenerate into a dreary round of boycotts, demonstrations and party schisms. The picture was dramatically changed by the Egyptian military revolution of July 1952, which removed King Faruq from the scene and placed at the head of the Egyptian state General Muhammad Najib, a man half-Sudanese by origin, whose sympathy for the Sudanese was rewarded by the overwhelming devotion which his name inspired in them. The new Egyptian regime acquired an immense fund of goodwill in the Sudan and reversed the inflexible attitude of its predecessor in regard to Sudanese self-determination. In contrast the British proposals now seemed cautious and hesitating. On 10 January 1953, representatives of the chief Sudanese parties signed a pact supporting the proposals of the Egyptian government. Once again the Ummah and their opponents had sunk their differences for common action. The place of the old Ashiqqa' and National Front had now been taken by a National Unionist party (*Al-Hizb al-Watani al-Ittihadi*) and a new group, the Socialist Republican party (*Al-Hizb al-Jumhuri al-Ishtiraki*) had come into being. This last, which had published its manifesto in December 1951, was backed by a number of tribal leaders. It was opposed to union with Egypt and equally opposed to the inception of a Mahdist monarchy. Its appeal was overrated by non-Sudanese observers and its influence upon the course of events was nil.

From what has been said above, it will be clear that relations between Britain and Egypt and the political history of the latter country have had a profound effect and at times a determining influence both upon the development of the Sudanese national movement and upon the steps by which self-government and self-determination were realized. In the following article I shall deal with this aspect of Sudanese political development and, in conclusion, outline the stages by which independence was attained.

# THE ABOLITION OF CONFESSIONAL JURISDICTION IN EGYPT

## The Non-Muslim Courts

George N. Sfeir

FROM January 1, 1956 all shari'a (Muslim religious) and milliyah (Christian ecclesiastical and Jewish rabbinical) courts in Egypt ceased to exist. The Revolutionary Government of Cairo, in a surprise move on September 21, 1955, enacted a law which deprived these tribunals of their traditional jurisdiction in all matters of personal status and domestic relations. And with that move Egyptian authorities have turned a latter page in the long history of religious jurisdictions in the land.

Article 1 of the law of September 21, reads as follows:

Shari'a and milliyah courts shall, as from January 1, 1956, be abolished. All cases pending before the said courts by December 31, 1955 shall be transferred to the national courts . . .

Article 2 of the same law provides that cases previously under the jurisdiction of shari'a and milliyah courts shall be brought, as from January 1, 1956, before the civil courts.

### I

Although this bold move by the Egyptian authorities stopped short of abolishing entirely the centuries-old institution of personal status, in that it did not secularize and unify family law, it may soon prove to have been a major step in that direction. At this stage, however, the law of September 21, 1955 does not affect the substantive shari'a law and the various laws and customs applicable to members of the religious communities in Egypt. The new law expressly provides that, in exercising their newly acquired jurisdiction in matters of personal status, the civil courts shall apply the various religious laws of the litigants which had been formerly applied by the shari'a and milliyah tribunals (Article 6). There is no secular law of marriage and divorce in Egypt; neither does one seem to be envisaged at the present time.

The religious tribunals which the law of September 21 legislated out of existence include, apart from the shari'a courts, some fourteen non-Muslim *majalis milliyah*, as they are known in Egypt. These *majalis* are the com-

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munal councils of the several Christian minority communities in the land: the Copts, both Orthodox and Catholic; the Melkites; the Greek Orthodox; the Maronites; the Armenian Gregorians; the Armenian Catholics; the Syrian Orthodox; the Syrian Catholic; the Chaldeans; the Roman Catholics; the Anglican Protestants, and the two rabbinical tribunals of the Jewish community.

Although this cessation of religious jurisdiction in Egypt affects equally the shari'a courts and the *majalis milliyah*, its effect on the status of non-Muslim minorities and their traditional privileges has received greater attention. Shari'a courts were, until the modern era, identified with state courts, while the patriarchal and rabbinical tribunals constituted special religious jurisdictions *par excellence*. Furthermore, the Egyptian law of September 21, 1955 contains provisions empowering Muslim qadis to sit on the bench of the civil courts when these latter hear cases of personal status, whereas no such provision is made for non-Muslims. For these reasons, emphasis in this study will be placed on the status of non-Muslim minorities.

These privileges of non-Muslim sacerdotal authorities to deal with matters of personal status for members of their religious communities originated with the Muslim Arab conquest and assumed a wider and more formal status during the period of Ottoman suzerainty in the Middle East. But unlike other states in the region today, where jurisdiction of religious tribunals has come to be more clearly defined by laws promulgated since World War I,<sup>1</sup> the competence of milliyah courts in Egypt continued to be regulated, somewhat vaguely, by the *faramans* and *hautes circulaires* of the Ottoman period. Repeated attempts in 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1948 to reorganize the *majalis milliyah* and define their jurisdiction never went beyond the stage of setting up commissions and the compilation of reports. As a result of this default the jurisdiction of these tribunals continued to be based on the following inadequate Ottoman decrees:

(1) The *Hatt-i Humayun* of February 18, 1856, whose Article 17 provided that "special civil proceedings, such as succession or others of that nature, between subjects of the same Christian or other non-Muslim faith, may, at the request of the parties, be sent before the councils of the patriarchs or of the communities."

(2) The *hautes circulaires* of February 3, 1891, and April 1, 1891, addressed to the Greek Orthodox and Armenian patriarchs respectively by the Sublime Porte, which rendered the jurisdiction of the patriarchs compulsory

<sup>1</sup> This was the case in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine where French and British mandatory (and later the national) administrations established confessional jurisdiction on a more definite and equalitarian basis. The Ottoman authorities had in 1917 abolished the privileges of non-Muslim religious authorities in matters of personal status and placed the jurisdiction in those matters with the shari'a courts.

rather than voluntary and exclusive rather than concurrent with that of the shari'a courts. ". . . D'après ces decisions les actions résultant de la conclusion des mariages et de leur dissolution, en pension alimentaire, en 'trakhoma' et en dot sont examinées dans la Capitale au Patriarcat, et en province aux métropoles; cet ancien ordre de choses sera aussi dorénavant observé . . ." However, succession remained a matter of concurrent jurisdiction between the shari'a courts and the *majalis milliyah* in Egypt. Only agreement among the litigants acted to bring a case involving succession within the jurisdiction of the *majlis milli*. Lacking such agreement, the shari'a courts were competent.

(3) The *hautes circulaires* of 1891 and the following years in effect extended the privileges contained in the foregoing legislation to all other non-Muslim communities. With Egypt's formal renunciation of Ottoman suzerainty in 1914, the authorities moved to recognize the *status quo* and the privileges of the patriarchs as these existed at the time. Law No. 8 of 1915 gave formal recognition to all "extraordinary judicial authorities" already established in the land and empowered those authorities to continue to exercise their rights and privileges "based on Ottoman Faramans and Bera'at."

Those matters covered by the phrase "special civil proceedings, such as succession or others of that nature," mentioned in the *Hatt-i Humayun*, remained the center of contention between the civil and sacerdotal authorities. The term "personal status" has no origin in the shari'a. It is an importation from Europe in the wake of the Powers' interest in the status of Ottoman Christian minorities in the 19th century. As a result of explicit legislation and traditional usage, however, this term came to cover all those matters of legal status and capacity as well as family relations which, in one form or another, are associated with the religious faith and practice of non-Muslim communities and which consequently differed from that of the Muslim majority. These include engagement, marriage, separation and divorce, alimony and maintenance, trouousseau, guardianship, custody and adoption, religious and philanthropic trusts, succession and wills, and the administration of community properties and institutions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In giving official cognizance to the reorganized Coptic (Orthodox) community on May 14, 1883, the Sublime Porte empowered the *majlis milli* to handle "cases involving all matters of personal status which are described in the Book of Personal Status [by Qadri Pasha] published with the laws of the Mixed Courts." This volume contained a compilation taken from the body of the shari'a of those matters of legal status and domestic relations which the author labeled (in the title of the book but nowhere in the text) as matters of personal status. The list included all matters pertaining to marriage, divorce, separation, alimony, *mahr*, trouousseau, custody, *nasab*, wills, succession, *awqaf* and bequests. Other matters of personal status mentioned in the book, but since 1925 withdrawn from the jurisdiction of both the shari'a courts and the *majlis milliyah* and placed with the civil *majlis hisbiyah* (*vide* law of October 13, 1925), are guardianship and *hajr* (legal incapacity).

These inadequate provisions were cause for continual confusion and conflicts of jurisdiction between one *majlis milli* and another, between the *majalis milliyah* and the shari'a courts, or between the religious and the secular jurisdictions. The law of September 21 acts therefore to eliminate those conflicts in jurisdiction and to unify jurisdiction in matters of family law by placing jurisdiction under the secular courts and the supervision of the national Ministry of Justice—a major step on the road to more complete secularization in this segment of the legal order.

At the various levels of the civil judiciary—first instance, appeal and cassation—special "Divisions of Personal Status" have been established for the first time to deal with all cases involving personal status, family law and *awqaf* for all Egyptians alike (Article 4 of the law of September 21). These Divisions will be staffed primarily by the regular members of the bench to be assisted by shari'a qadis. The former President of the Supreme Shari'a Court is, since January 1, a permanent member of the Division of Personal Status of the Court of Cassation. The bench of the Personal Status Division at the Court of Appeal will be constituted of three judges one of whom may be a shari'a qadi. The court of first instance which will be constituted of three magistrates may include one or two shari'a qadis as members of the Division of Personal Status bench. As observed above, these provisions of the law of September 21, when treating of the constitution of the benches of the special divisions of personal status, mention shari'a qadis only, some 190 of whom have been appointed members of the judiciary. No similar mention is made of clerical or lay judges of the abolished *majalis milliyah*.

With the establishment of these Divisions of Personal Status as integral departments of the secular judiciary, the Egyptian legislation purportedly aims at remedying several major weaknesses in the administration of justice in this branch of the law:

(1) It acts to eliminate the chaos and confusion which was a consequence of the multiplicity of confessional jurisdictions by constituting one judicial authority competent to deal in matters of personal status for all Egyptians. The explanatory memorandum appended to the law of September 21 states in this regard:

The multiplicity of [confessional] jurisdictions meant that each party hoped to extend the area of its competence and thereby to infringe upon the authority of the other, particularly since no clear-cut and permanent definition of the extent of each jurisdiction existed.

A great number of cases were never finally decided as litigants carried their issues from court to court in search of the most favorable decision while other cases received several conflicting decisions.

(2) It acts to eliminate the delay and the inefficiency which seemed to be an accompanying aspect of the work of the *majalis milliyah*. The explanatory memorandum points out that some of these *majalis* seldom sat as a court of law to hear cases submitted to them by members of their communities, and if they did they were far removed from the places of residence of the litigants. Furthermore, many of these tribunals lacked a written law of procedure, including fees, or a unified compendium of their substantive laws. They continued to draw on scattered sources found in religious books and traditions. Such a situation was bound, the memorandum says, to be cause for great hardship to litigants and to undermine confidence in these tribunals.<sup>3</sup>

(3) It acts to eliminate all semblance of limitation upon the sovereignty of the state. The traditional autonomy of sacerdotal authorities in matters of personal status has been likened to the Capitulations as standing between the state and that complete sovereignty. The memorandum states:

The precepts of public law require that the sovereignty of the State should be complete and absolute over its territory. It further requires that all persons domiciled therein, irrespective of their nationality, should be subject to the laws and the courts of the land and to a single judicial authority no matter what the subjects of their conflicts are or the law applicable to them. . . . In spite of the fact that the State had regained its [complete] judicial authority in respect to aliens and the national courts have become competent in all cases pertaining to them, including their matters of personal status, the latter matters remained in respect to Egyptians themselves subject to the several laws and regulations particular to each group . . .

The memorandum then makes objection to the fact that there should exist in the land autonomous jurisdictions exercising an authority which has not been delegated by the state; that in the case of some of these jurisdictions they should be subject at the highest level of litigation to alien authorities. The reference here is primarily to the Sacra Rota of the Vatican for Egyptians of the Roman Catholic rite and the Uniate Eastern Churches.

<sup>3</sup> The Uniate Eastern churches which are in communion with Rome have recently acquired a unified compendium of the laws of marriage and divorce. This compendium, the work of a special committee of clerics at the Vatican, was published by Pope Pius XII on February 22, 1949. Other sources of the laws of these communities are found in the various "councils" or *majami'* of the different churches: *Al-Majma' al-Lubnāni* 1736 for the Maronites, *Majma' al-Iskandariyah* 1898 for the Copts, *Majma' Dayr al-Shurfah* 1888 for the Syrian Orthodox, and the *Council of Rome* 1911 for the Armenians.

The laws of personal status for the Orthodox Coptic Church are contained in a compilation completed in 1896 which in turn draws on a compilation dating back to the 19th century. The sources of the latter are patriarchal decrees, ecumenical and local councils and other religious sources and traditions.

The law of the Greek Orthodox community in Egypt is the law of the Jerusalem Greek orthodox patriarchate, adopted in 1930. It is based on an earlier compilation of Byzantine laws and sources.

## II

Like its sister jurisdiction involving the Capitulations and the Mixed Courts, which were abolished in Egypt less than a decade ago, the confessional jurisdictions are a legacy of the Ottoman organization of state and society. For all practical purposes the institution of personal status and the religious tribunals are an extension into the modern period of the Middle East of the Ottoman millet system. Their persistence in the new statehoods which evolved following the break-up of the Ottoman Empire not only pose a note of discord in the law and judicial organization of most Middle Eastern states, which have been almost completely secularized and "westernized," but tend also to contribute greatly to dissension in the states involved. That which in the past was considered of the essence of religious liberty is, today, in the wake of trends towards secularism and nationalism, frowned upon as cause for social differences and strife.

The peoples of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, then members (in their great majority) of another great monotheistic religion—Christianity, were brought by the Arab conquest under Islamic rule. The place of these "citizens" in the Islamic state was based on the concept of the *dhimmi*, by which a non-Muslim was guaranteed life, liberty, and, in a modified form, property in return for the payment of a capitation tax called the *jizyah*. Whether a true interpretation of the Qur'anic provision or not, the concept of the *dhimmi* was built on the following verse:

Make war upon such of those to whom the Scripture have been given as believe not in God or in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His Prophet have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled.

With such a particular status of tolerated citizenship, the relation of a non-Muslim to the law of the land, the shari'a, was no less particular. The shari'a was sacred law promulgated expressly for the Muslim—hence intensely personal. Following this same principle of the *personalité des lois*, non-Muslims were allowed to regulate their affairs according to their own religious laws unless litigants elected to be tried before a Muslim qadi.<sup>4</sup>

In practice the result was a certain degree of autonomy enjoyed by non-Muslim communities, particularly in those matters related to religion and therefore outside the purview of the shari'a.

With the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmet II in 1453, the Otto-

<sup>4</sup> "If, therefore, they have recourse to thee, then judge between them, or withdraw from them. . . . But if thou judge then judge between them in equity. Verily God loveth those who deal equitably." This Qur'anic provision is followed by another one: "Judge therefore between them by what God hath sent down, and follow not their desires by deserting the truth which hath come unto thee." Furthermore, so-called "treaties" concluded between the conquering Muslim armies and the Christian inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent embody provisions which reiterate such a policy towards non-Muslims.

man Turks became the keepers of the power and faith of the Islamic state. But religion remained the dividing line among the Sultan's subjects. The concept of citizenship based on nationality remained foreign to the Ottoman state until as late as 1869 when an Ottoman law of nationality was first promulgated.<sup>5</sup> It was during this Ottoman period in the history of the Middle Eastern countries that the millet system was evolved.

In giving official cognizance to the newly elected Patriarch of the Phanar (Greek Orthodox patriarch), Georgios Scholarios Gennadios, Sultan Mehmet II had said in the investiture ceremonies: "Be Patriarch, live with us in peace and enjoy all the privileges of thy predecessors." The Sultan furthermore recognized the new patriarch as "Bishop of Constantinople, the new Rome, and patriarch of all the world," with powers to administer all religious and civil affairs of the Greek Orthodox community in the empire. The Greek Orthodox patriarch was also given state rank immediately following that of the Mufti of Constantinople. Similar privileges were eventually extended to patriarchs of the other Christian minorities.

This recognition of the autonomy of sacerdotal authorities originated as a political gesture on the part of the Ottoman sultans to serve their own interests—to win the favor of the Orthodox Church, or to be relieved of the direct administration of a religiously and nationally alien citizenry. As the sultans and the times changed, this autonomy became a subject of contention between grantors and grantees. The whole question of the status of non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire assumed new significance in the 19th century, with the entry of the Great European Powers into conflict over the body of "the sick man of Europe" and his large imperial estate. The motives behind the encroachment by the sultans upon the privileges of the patriarchs varied. There was a genuine need to integrate all the subjects of the empire by unifying the law and the courts. Some of the rulers really attempted more efficient administration of their domains. On the other hand, religious fanaticism, jealousy and hatred no doubt played a part. Intervention of the Powers was in each case exercised on behalf of the minorities and the weakened sultans appeased them by reaffirming the privileges. It was as a result of these factors that the most important document of the period affecting the status of non-Muslim communities was issued. This was the *Hatt-i Humayun* of February 18, 1856, issued by the Sublime Porte toward the close of the Crimean war and on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference (February 25 to March 30, 1856).<sup>6</sup> It was this document which in the main continued to provide the basis for confessional jurisdiction in Egypt.

<sup>5</sup> Law of January 19, 1869.

<sup>6</sup> There is some evidence to support the contention that the *Hatt-i Humayun* was not only promulgated by the Sublime Porte as a basis for the establishment of peace with Russia, but that it was the work of the British, French and Austrian ambassadors in Constantinople.

## III

The trends of secularism and nationalism which have been growing in the Middle East for several decades today provide the strongest challenge to the institution of personal status and confessional jurisdiction. The pre-World War I order was based on the concept of the theocratic church-state of Islam with the shari'a as the source of sovereignty. In that order it was the Sunni Muslims, constituting the predominant element in the state, who succeeded in maintaining its unity and stability. Other minority groups led a protected existence therein, never powerful enough to upset it, yet strong enough to constitute "the dams which confront a too powerful majority-will," as Jellinek put it.

The post-war territorial settlement and the intrusion of the concept of secular nationalism into the political thought of Middle Eastern societies resulted in the loss by Islam—as a political fact—of much of its original power. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire posed the problem of finding a new foundation of sovereignty in the successor states. The problem was particularly important to those societies in which substantial non-Muslim communities share the national existence and destiny.<sup>7</sup> In the social and political transformation which has been taking place there, traditional concepts of Islam fail to provide the new premises required, while secular nationalism seems the liberalizing, democratizing and integrating force in the Middle East today. Thus government spokesmen in Egypt, in the explanatory memorandum appended to the law of September 21, characterize the step they had taken as constituting "effective means for achieving democracy," as eliminating "all semblances of a special order which limits the authority of the State and its sovereignty," and as "realizing the unity of the judiciary" for all Egyptians irrespective of their religious affiliations.

Since the abolition of the *majalis milliyah* and the unification of the administration of justice, Egyptian authorities have drafted a new constitution which establishes Islam as the state religion of the Republic of Egypt.<sup>8</sup> It injects into the ideological character of the new régime not only an Arab but an Islamic outlook. This provision of the constitution is bound to raise doubts in the minds of the religious minority groups in Egypt whose autonomy in the regulation of their personal status has been withdrawn from them. The privileges of the non-Muslim communities in Middle Eastern

<sup>7</sup> "In the Arab countries," says Gibb, "the function of national secularism has been to bring together and to consolidate, if possible, the diverse social and religious groups in a common organization, united by a common ideology. One can almost plot a curve showing how the strength of secular nationalism in each Arab region is proportional to the diversity of social units and the complexity of minority problems, reaching a maximum in Syria."

H. A. R. Gibb, "Social Change in the Near East," *The Near East*, P. Ireland, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Written before the plebiscite held on June 23, 1956. See "Documents" in this issue.

countries find their genesis and strongest justification in the fact that the state's identification with a particular faith—and in Islam such identification automatically involves identification with the shari'a since no radical separation of church and state has as yet been achieved in the Arabic speaking countries—constituted a potentially discriminatory situation.

The formulators of the new Egyptian constitution may very well have been motivated by considerations of the influence of Egypt with the other Arabs when they chose to identify their new republic with Islam and to mention Egypt as part of the Arab "nation." The fact remains, however, that in doing so they seem to have given renewed justification for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the privileges of non-Muslim communities in Egypt. The abolition of the institution of personal status and confessional jurisdiction, if it is to constitute a healthy and constructive measure, should come as a natural outcome of, or at most as a corollary to, the development of secular nationalism and its logical conclusion in the establishment of a socially integrated laic state. On this latter issue the Egyptian Revolutionary régime has so far failed to take a positive stand. Islamic patriotism remains much in the thought and actions of the leaders of the Revolution.

# THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

William H. Lewis

E THIOPIA is once again at an important crossroads in its history. Many problems confront this northeast African Empire. Touching as they do upon such questions as national integration of multi-ethnic communities, religion within the state, and the function of modernism in a society which is only beginning to recognize its own potentialities and limitations, these problems are both dramatic and complex. However, they are not peculiar to Ethiopia alone. Such problems are familiar companions to the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. What makes Ethiopia's position distinctive is the manner in which Emperor Haile Selassie and his government are coming to grips with the realities of the modern world and the consequences this is likely to have for Ethiopia's neighbors.

## *The Nature and Dimensions of Ethiopia's Problems*

Lying astride the axis of Africa's northeastern horn, and in close proximity to the Suez Canal, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, Ethiopia stands on the cultural frontiers of Africa and the Middle East. The country's varied population—thought to number between 12 and 16 million people—is a reflection of Ethiopia's double heritage. It contains a mélange of Hamitic, Mediterranean, and Negroid peoples who speak more than 35 different languages and dialects and who follow Christian, Muslim, or pagan rites.

Despite this constellation of peoples, languages, and religions, Ethiopia's geographic position has permitted the country to maintain its own identity for more than 2,000 years. For approximately one-half of the land area of Ethiopia proper—which is the size of Texas and Oklahoma—encompasses a compact and rugged plateau region with escarpments ranging from 6,000 to 9,000 feet in height. This north central plateau, or massif, has been for many centuries the forebear of the present Ethiopian Empire, often sheltering its people and rulers from external invasion and, concomitantly providing the area with its sense of historical continuity. Coptic Christian since the 4th century, the Hamitic folk of the Ethiopian plateau are generally called Amharas; they speak a large number of local dialects which have an affinity with South Arabic. While internal contests for power have frequently divided these people, such centuries-old disputes and rivalries as those exist-

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ing between the kingdoms of Shoa, Tigré, and Gojjam have never destroyed their conscious recognition of themselves as repositories of Ethiopia's Christian heritage and the source of Ethiopian political power and authority.

However, the problem of Ethiopia's growth and development in the 20th century cannot be examined in the context of the Amhara people alone. While the creation of a modern national community would be difficult enough in Ethiopia's plateau area, which still lacks common developed economic resources, widely based social (as opposed to cultural) cohesion, and dynamic political institutions, the problem is actually compounded many-fold by the fact that this central massif incorporates less than 50 percent of the Empire's total land area and less than 35 percent of the total population of Ethiopia proper. Lying in all directions on the arid and, in places, semitropical periphery of the plateau provinces are a number of Muslim and pagan communities which, until recently, often challenged Amhara dominance. Included among the bordering communities which are situated in Ethiopia proper are: (1) the Galla people of the southern and south central portion of the country, who are thought to number 42 percent of the population; (2) the Shankalli or Negroid population on the western frontier—comprising slightly more than 6 percent; and (3) the virile and independent-minded Somali people in the east and southeast, who probably comprise about 6 percent of Ethiopia's population.<sup>1</sup>

Amhara hegemony in Ethiopia's outlying provinces has become an assured fact only within the past 75 years. Prior to 1850, the Galla and Somali communities had threatened the mountain strongholds of Christian Ethiopia for more than two centuries. Under the leadership of Ahmad Grañ, for example, the Muslim Galla tide swept onto the central plateau in 1527/29 shaking Ethiopian complacency even in the isolated Kingdom fastness of Shoa. As late as 1901/20, the Mad Mullah, a mahdist pretender, was able to challenge Ethiopian control in parts of eastern Ethiopia by leading a religiously-inspired uprising of the Somali people. The latter revolt threatened to undo the earlier efforts of Menelik II—from 1875 until 1898—to unify the country through military conquest and the establishment of a strong central government.

On the other hand, despite centuries of internecine conflict, a lively sense of national consciousness is now beginning to emerge among the Ethiopian people. Frequent struggle and invasion of each other's domain has led over the years to an increasing awareness of common interests, as well as to ethnic assimilation. The Galla invasions of the 16th century, for instance, have resulted in the settlement of large numbers of these hitherto warlike people on the central plateau, the conversion of a substantial number of pagans to

<sup>1</sup> Zoli, C. *Cronache Etiopiche*. Rome, 1930. pp. 12-13.

Christianity, and the gradual cultural marriage of the Amhara and the Galla peoples. The recent Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1935-1941) also had its useful aspects, for it served to stimulate a growing Ethiopian awareness of nationhood and of the need for all communities to defend their country from foreign conquest. While some measure of cultural enmity still exists between rival communities and local ethnocentricities continue to divide many Ethiopians, this new and vital force is an undoubted factor in the land and may well weld the majority of these diverse peoples together.

Growing national consciousness is, however, only a prelude to the formation of a modern national state. In the case of Ethiopia, numerous obstacles impede the rapid advance of this country to modernity. Whereas the geographic isolation of the Empire served to protect Ethiopia in the past from foreign invasion, today it thwarts the diffusion of new ideas and impedes rapid economic and social growth. Moreover, there are few nationwide pressures for fundamental social, economic, and political change in the country today. Indeed, those pressures which do exist are often countervailing in that they perpetuate certain rigidities in ideas, cultural values, social structure, and conventions. The vast majority of the country's traditional leaders—the Christian and Muslim "clergy", tribal chiefs, and ruling provincial families—resist change and seek to dilute its impact in the hinterland.

A further obstacle to the evolution of Ethiopian society is the very nature of that society. Accustomed to the authoritarian rule of the tribe, the village council, and family tradition, many Ethiopians are suspicious of modern innovations and resist with great vigor changes which threaten the internal structural orders of their communities. In the past, these communities have been socially isolated and economically self-sufficient, with their own communal laws, their own parochial customs, and often their own religious rituals. While individual self-assertion and innovation were subordinated to the consensus of the community, the latter compensated for stifling individual initiative by providing considerable assurance of physical security, a feeling of emotional unity, and a ready-made response to the problems which, in the normal course of events, were likely to arise. The average Ethiopian still prefers the anonymity of communal life as compared with the amenities and uncertainties promised by Western-inspired cultural evolution. Indeed, Europeans are still regarded with curiosity by many Ethiopians; travel by more modern conveyance than a camel or donkey is felt to be a memorable experience by many; and for the vast majority of Ethiopians salt bars and tin receptacles continue to serve as more valuable items for purposes of barter and exchange than does the new Ethiopian paper currency. In such a world, the question of whether social change can be imposed through official fiat is dubious.

*Ethiopia's Response to the Challenge*

Since his accession to the throne in 1930, Emperor Haile Selassie has carried forth judiciously, but with imagination, a double-edged program of centralization of government authority and Westernization of native institutions. Unlike the remainder of Africa and the Middle East, however, these changes have been effected slowly and "at a natural pace." Initially inspired by the Emperor and a small coterie of his supporters, these changes are gaining wider currency in many parts of Ethiopia. Whereas previously there had been no widely accepted tradition of sustained government direction above the level of the tribe or village, today the outlines of national governmental institutions have been well-established.<sup>2</sup> The geographical fragmentation of the country is being partially overcome by the construction of all-weather roads, the creation of a national telecommunications system, and the establishment of a national airline; all with external assistance. Educational and vocational training institutions also are being established in many isolated localities. On the economic side, greater attention is being concentrated on the production of cash crops such as coffee. As a result Ethiopian exports have grown greatly within recent years, light industries are being established in Addis Ababa, per capita purchasing power has grown considerably in certain southern rural areas, and the country's internal market for manufactured consumer goods has experienced a remarkable expansion. The greatly increased demand for shoes in several affluent rural areas as well as the widening purchase of imported bright-colored clothing by Ethiopian women is testimony to the country's expanded economic activity.

While the many Western-inspired changes taking place in contemporary Ethiopia have been in the direction of modernity, these changes should not be confused with modernity itself. Outside urban centers such as Addis Ababa the weight of tradition and customary patterns of behavior have been altered but slightly. Many communities still lack knowledge of elementary natural laws and such seemingly commonplace items as glass are unknown. In these communities—found on the Ethiopian plateau as well as in the desert periphery of the country—the old tribal and familial loyalties and sense of obligations still obtain.

The recent innovations championed by Emperor Haile Selassie have been introduced for three fundamental purposes: (1) the elimination of the centrifugal forces which have divided the Empire for centuries; (2) the creation of new forces which will serve to stimulate greater national cohesion; and, ultimately, (3) material betterment as well as political evolution and representation of all Ethiopians in the affairs of their government.

<sup>2</sup> For perceptive exposition concerning these institutions, see Perham, Margery. *The Government of Ethiopia*. London, 1948.

However, at the present stage of Ethiopian development these goals can be reached only by means which may at times seem authoritarian and arbitrary. Concomitantly, Ethiopia will continue to experience a growing need to harmonize, i.e., to bring into balance, those countervailing forces which reject reform and those which feel that its introduction is progressing too slowly.

The need to find some point of equilibrium between these two opposing factions has already given rise to certain situations which appear anomalous. This is best illustrated perhaps by the *modus operandi* of Ethiopia's governmental institutions. Despite their obviously Western framework, these institutions continue to function on a personal basis, under the complete direction of the Emperor's ministers, and to be guided by traditionally-sanctioned rules of conduct.

Despite many such internal contradictions, Ethiopia's prospects for creating a unified political society, free from the shackles of tribal and feudal tradition, are quite promising. A great deal already has been accomplished. In the realm of national security, a more powerful national army—the Western-trained and Korea-tested Imperial Bodyguard—and a centrally administered national police force have been created. A Western-educated bureaucracy has been settled in Addis Ababa and is being employed in growing numbers in the various ministries and departments. In pursuing its program of centralization of authority, the government has reorganized the myriad provinces into 12 large ones. The role of the once-powerful provincial governors has been circumscribed. Whereas these governors formerly maintained their own military and police forces, and were relatively free from imperial authority, they have been placed under the general control of the government in Addis Ababa since 1942. As a result, they are appointed directly from the capital, are paid from the central treasury, and are supported administratively by officials who are responsible to the various ministries in Addis Ababa.<sup>3</sup>

Probably one of the most important and most publicized reforms to be introduced within recent years is Ethiopia's new constitution. Promulgated by the Emperor on November 4, 1955, this recent charter grants Ethiopians the right to vote for the first time in their 2,000-year history. The Ethiopian Constitution of July 16, 1931, while reserving all of the monarchial prerogatives, was in essence a promise to the Ethiopian people that the future would be reserved for their growing participation in the government. In part, the 1955 charter is a fulfillment of that promise and may herald the beginning

<sup>3</sup> However, the provincial administrations do suffer from deficiencies such as inadequately trained personnel, improper staffing and duplication of effort and lack of uniformity in district and local administrative bodies.

of a real wedding of the collective interests, aspirations, and needs of the Ethiopian people and the ruling family.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Educational and Economic Advances*

To ensure Ethiopia's foothold in the modern world and to give the new constitution meaning, the Ethiopian Government is lending increasing support to programs of economic and educational advancement. Governmental involvement is an obvious prerequisite in a country where the level of living is still low, human skills are still limited, subsistence agriculture is the primary productive facet of local life, and where private incentive for industrial growth is not readily apparent. The administration has adopted a broadly-based policy of encouraging and financially supporting the improvement of communications facilities, the creation of basic social and technical services, the fostering of better agricultural production techniques, and the encouragement of foreign investment in Ethiopia. It will be many years, however, before the fruits of these efforts become apparent.

It is undoubtedly in the field of national education that Ethiopia has made its most significant gains. Beginning in 1942—when Ethiopia's modern school system was virtually non-existent—and up to 1952 alone 200 school buildings were constructed; student enrollment increased perceptibly; more than 2,000 teachers received specialized training; a new "organizational framework" was created; and a special method of financing education in the provinces was introduced. Almost all of these advances have been made under the guidance of the Emperor, who retains the portfolio of the Minister of Education. However, these innovations have been conducted at a measured pace. As was pointed out by the U. S. Operations Mission to Ethiopia in 1953:

In setting underway the forces for the creation of a modern system of education there must be recognition that to move too fast would be to endanger the tradition, customs and national character of the nation. A completely centralized education institution guided by the ideals of efficiency cannot be imposed. At the same time, in its race to achieve national recognition and to compete with other nations of the world on modern terms, the nation cannot await the development of a system through the evolutionary processes which have been common to most countries.

Of course, Ethiopia still stands far distant from its goals in the educational field. While 75,000 children are presently enrolled in nationally endowed institutions—where Amharic is employed as the *lingua franca*—only 4 percent of Ethiopia's school age children (7-11 years of age) attend these schools. It is thought that slightly more than 3,000,000 children attend

<sup>4</sup> See "Documents—Ethiopia's Revised Constitution," *MEJ*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Spring, 1956), prepared by the author.

Qur'anic and Coptic Christian centers where greater emphasis is placed upon rote memorization, unquestioning application of traditional values, and retention of local ethnocentricities. Furthermore, almost all Ethiopia's 440 government schools serve only the first three grades. Ethiopian teachers in these institutions still require additional training and supervision. Moreover, at existing levels of teacher training the country's proliferating school age population threatens to overwhelm the present limited cadre of educators. Over the short run, Ethiopia will have to rely heavily upon the aid of European and American instructors and school administrators. In the long run, the Empire will be served well by its own people who, in the main, already evince an intense desire for education and its derivative benefits.<sup>5</sup>

A natural accompaniment of educational advancement in Ethiopia, is the economic maturation of the Empire. While the pace of Ethiopian economic development has been slow, it has been well-measured and in harmony with the growing needs of the country. Numerous factors, however, serve to impede rapid progress including: (1) the inaccessibility of potentially productive areas of the country; (2) the backward nature of the Empire's agricultural economy—which, with the exception of coffee production, is of the subsistence variety; (3) the weakness of incentives for economic change as well as the absence of widely based skills, capital, and aggressive and adventuresome traditions of investment; and (4) the need for more coherent administrative planning in fields such as industrial and agricultural development.

Nevertheless, Ethiopia has made a number of important economic gains over the past several years. In the field of agriculture, the government is initiating programs to increase both the quality and quantity of coffee growing. Coffee production, which is by far the leading export commodity in the Ethiopian economy, is serving to transform many Ethiopian communities into cash crop areas. With the assistance of the IBRD, Ethiopia's Imperial Highway Authority has constructed and rehabilitated about 2,500 miles of the country's roads—many of which connect coffee producing areas with major transport centers. In addition to assistance in the highway development program, the IBRD has also loaned Ethiopia funds to expand its telecommunications facilities and to establish a development bank which is making capital available for the creation and expansion of industrial and agricultural enterprises.

<sup>5</sup> Space does not permit a comprehensive estimate of recent educational advances which have been made in Ethiopia. These include, *inter alia*, the improvement of curriculum, instructional methods, and training materials, as well as the establishment of sound certification standards and teacher training institutions. In addition, teachers' salary schedules have been improved, school libraries enlarged, functional education programs created for adults, and greater opportunities for technical education made available for adults and children. In the midst of this progress it should be noted that Ethiopia owes much to the many Western educators who have served the Empire with their knowledge, inspiration, and training.

In the past five years, Ethiopia's economic position has improved markedly, largely as a result of the world coffee boom and the modest but important public investment projects undertaken in the field of transportation. As a consequence of these developments which have accelerated the internal movement of goods, Ethiopia's foreign trade has sharply increased during this period. Indeed, Ethiopia is one of the few underdeveloped countries of the world which enjoys a favorable balance of payments position as shown by its holdings of gold and foreign assets which reached a record high of nearly \$60 million in mid-1955. This favorable position, however, is heavily dependent upon a favorable world market position of Ethiopian coffee.

Of considerable importance in Ethiopia's economic press are the technical assistance programs furnished by the United Nations and the United States. These programs furnish technicians and specialized training to Ethiopians in widely varying fields. The U. S. technical assistance program, which has been in operation since May 1952, has amounted to U. S. \$1-1½ million per year. Its total expenditures through March 31, 1954 alone have been approximately \$4 million. Under joint U. S.-Ethiopian projects agreements, programs have been established, *inter alia*, for a cooperative endeavor in agriculture and mechanical arts education, the creation of several agricultural secondary schools, livestock and range improvement, locust control, and water resources surveys. Given continued Western assistance and sustained governmental initiative, there is room for considerable optimism concerning future prospects for Ethiopia's economic development.

#### *The Progress of Federation*

Ethiopia is an empire by virtue of the many diverse peoples residing within its frontiers and the equally numerous kingdoms—some petty and others powerful—which stood for centuries in rivalry with the authority of former Ethiopian kings. However, as a result of a UN resolution of December 2, 1950, Ethiopia assumed a relationship with a neighboring territory previously unknown in its 2,000-year-old history. The area involved was a small triangular strip of mountainous and desert land containing some 1,100,000 Christians, Muslims, and animists. Originally sequestered from Ethiopia by Italy in 1896, Eritrea was captured by British forces during World War II. Under the terms of Annex XI of the Italian Peace Treaty, the Big Four Council of Foreign Ministers—the U. S., U. K., France and U.S.S.R.—were empowered to dispose of Italy's former colonies. However, lack of allied unanimity led to complete failure after three years of negotiation and to the transfer of the problem to the UN General Assembly.

The federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia was essentially a compromise de-

cision; it was arrived at by the UN General Assembly as a means of harmonizing Ethiopia's legitimate claims, as well as its aspirations for redemption of a former territory, with the needs and sentiment of Eritrea's diverse peoples. These people are divided, much as Ethiopia is, by the barriers of geography, history, religion, and culture. Eritrea's indigenous community includes: (1) a Coptic Christian population, which numbers about 380,000 village dwellers living on the southern plateau; (2) the Muslim Arab-Baja pastoral people in the western plains and foothills—320,000; (3) about 100,000 nomads living on the Red Sea coastal plain who are Arab-'Afar Muslims; and (4) approximately 40,000 settled agriculturalists who inhabit southwestern Eritrea. The latter are negroid, speak Kunama or Baria, and are chiefly Muslims. An additional 170,000 Eritreans live in urban centers such as Asmara and Massawa. Of these, approximately 12,000 are Italians.

Large parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea have shared a common history—including recent subjection to foreign rule. The Coptic Christian peoples of the southern Eritrean highlands and northern Ethiopian plateaus have, for a considerable period of time, constituted the ethnic core of the Ethiopian Empire. However, the northern margins of this core area have long been populated by ethnically distinct populations who, from time to time, have resisted Ethiopian (Amhara) hegemony. Largely Muslim in religious persuasion and tribal in corporate ties, many did not welcome wholeheartedly the unrestricted return of Eritrea to Ethiopia. While Ethiopia protested its lengthy historical ties with Eritrea, and its need for a Red Sea egress, many of the leaders of the northern Muslim community called for the erection of legal safeguards before Eritrea was reincorporated with the mother country.

The UN decision makes evident that Eritrea is an autonomous *unit* in the Ethiopian Empire. The territory's status is to be manifestly superior to that of a province and yet inferior to the position occupied by the imperial authority. With the assistance of a UN Commissioner, Anze Matienzo, and the approval of Emperor Haile Selassie, an Eritrean assembly laid the groundwork for federation by establishing local government in 1952. Eritrea today also has its own constitution, its own legislature and judiciary, and an independent police force. The jurisdiction of the Eritrean Administration incorporates such widely ranging matters as health, education, labor, social security, exploitation of natural resources, the local budget, and internal communications. The jurisdiction of the federal or Ethiopian government, on the other hand, extends to such matters as defense, foreign affairs, currency and finance, and foreign and interstate commerce and communications.

In some respects, the UN resolution left much to be desired. While providing for the participation of Eritreans in the various branches of the federal government, no provision is made for Ethiopian participation in

affairs reserved for the autonomous administration. A representative of the imperial authority is maintained in Asmara but he may only review and temporarily veto local legislation. Nor is provision made for the manner in which amendment of the federal system is to be undertaken or the procedures to be pursued in the event of disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea concerning interpretation of the UN resolution of 1950.

While the future of Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation cannot be predicted with any unqualified assurance, the level of cooperation between federal and local administrations in Eritrea has been improving appreciably during the past few years. In an area where life is harsh and exacting, where the fabric of government runs thin outside Addis Ababa and Asmara, and where modalities of mutual aid and cooperation are relatively new, initial suspicions and trepidations are beginning to disappear. Ethiopian officials have done much to bring about greater recognition of the meaning of the new relationship. The federal government has established an Imperial Naval Academy at Asmara, opened a secondary school and large hospital in Eritrea, and initiated plans for the expansion of Assab so that it might become the Empire's leading port. In addition, Eritrean political leaders are beginning to look increasingly to the Emperor when local disagreements—such as that which arose in mid-1955 between Eritrea's first Chief Executive, Tedla Bairu, and the territorial Assembly—require mediation.

However, as is to be anticipated, some conflicting opinions have arisen. Until recently, one of the most interesting has been the problem of concurrent jurisdiction, i.e., the conflicting jurisdictions of two distinct court systems. Eritrean jurists have contended that the local courts should have paramount responsibility in all cases involving Eritreans. The Ethiopian administration has held, on the other hand, that the jurisdiction of the federal courts must incorporate all fields reserved to the federal government under the terms of the UN's 1950 resolution and the provisions of the Eritrean constitution. As a result of sober reflections and growing understanding of the federation's content, the Ethiopian view is coming to prevail. However, a régime of rapport remains to be established between Ethiopians and Eritreans on such diverse issues as: (1) the garrisoning of Ethiopian troops in Eritrea; (2) the level of economic assistance which the federal government should render its ward; (3) Eritrea's right to exploit the mineral resources lying beneath its surface; and (4) the role which Eritreans can expect to play within the fabric of federal institutions which still lack substance.

Many of the federation's current problems are the obvious product of a birth which was both difficult and not fully attended. With profound goodwill, moderation, and firm resolve on both sides their solution should not

prove difficult. A most essential element, however, will be the steady evolution of a well-informed and politically active Eritrean electorate which is willing to strive for the preservation of the present federal arrangement.

*The Frontiers of Empire*

The Ethiopians of the highlands tend to view themselves as a Christian island threatened on all sides by a hostile sea of Muslim peoples. Although an admittedly exaggerated notion, there is much in Ethiopian history to substantiate local suspicions and fear. With the twentieth century's spring-tide of nationalism sweeping through North Africa, the Ethiopian Empire feels itself occupying an insecure position once again. Ethiopians are becoming increasingly suspicious of Egyptian intentions in northeast Africa. In addition, they are anxious to establish a friendly relationship with their neighbors, the newly independent Sudanese, and to arrange for a fair apportionment of the waters of the Blue Nile which flows northward from Ethiopia to the Mediterranean.

The question of the Somali territories is proving the most vexatious problem at present. The Somalis—an essentially pastoral Muslim people who number some 2,000,000—inhabit not only Ethiopia's Ogaden region but virtually the entire horn of northeast Africa. Ethiopia's present difficulties with the Somalis relate to: (1) the establishment and delimitation of a boundary between Ethiopia and former Italian Somaliland, which is to become independent in 1960; (2) the return to Ethiopia of certain tribal lands bordering on British Somaliland by the UN in February 1955—as a result of an agreement concluded on November 29, 1954; and (3) a rising tide of pan-Somali sentiment which is developing and which finds expression in the desire to group all Somali people, including those in Ogaden, into a greater union or federation. The first of these problems already has come before the United Nations after five years of fruitless discussions between Ethiopia and Italy; the latter is serving as trustee in its former colony, which is now referred to as Somalia. The United Nations, last year, expressed its urgent desire for the satisfactory conclusion of negotiations between the two parties as soon as possible.

The question of the reserved area which was recently re-transferred to Ethiopian sovereignty also is beginning to receive international attention. The Somali tribes which migrate into this area six months annually—and which are thought to number 300,000 people or almost one-half British Somaliland's population—have expressed growing opposition to the UK-Ethiopian agreement. An initial attempt has been made by tribal leaders in the British protectorate to bring their grievances before the United Nations and the International Court of Justice at the Hague. In addition, a number

of their leaders have called for unification of the British area with Somalia when that former Italian possession is given its independence. Thus the question of frontier delimitation and the transfer of tribal lands is providing further impetus to the spread of pan-Somali sentiment throughout the African horn.

The problem posed for Ethiopia by the Somali people is both domestic and international. Because it involves a part of the Muslim community living in Ethiopia, the problem goes to the very heart of this Empire which incorporates many strains of peoples as well as many types of institutions. Indeed, in a sense, the frontiers of the Ethiopian Empire are only as extensive as the strengths and weaknesses found within the Empire itself. The fragmentation of even a small corner of Ethiopia is a serious problem. In the case of Ethiopia's Muslim community there is much room for optimism in the light of the Emperor's present program of governmental, cultural, linguistic, and economic integration. The Somali problem, if handled judiciously, can even become a means for strengthening of the bonds of Empire.

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## DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

### Tunisia and Independence

During the last three months, Tunisia, as a newly independent state, has survived and grown stronger, overcoming several crises that challenged its early existence. France officially recognized the independence of Tunisia on March 17th, thus making it the pilot state in the North African movement for independence. Interdependence with France remained to some degree a practical necessity.

The days before the official recognition and release of Tunisia from the hand of the French Protectorate were stormy. The French *colons*, intensely anti-nationalist, fearing for their privileged position, feeling abandoned by France, demonstrated violently, attacked newspaper offices, and damaged the U. S. Consulate and the U. S. Information Library in protest against supposed American anti-colonial views. Reassured that their political and economic rights would be respected, and that their lands would not be taken from under them, the *colons* finally subsided into tense and uneasy waiting. A certain number sold their properties and left the country. The self-exiled nationalist leader Salah ben Youssef, from Cairo, opposed all cooperation with France, and encouraged his Tunisian supporters in terrorist activities against the French through his secret terrorist organization "The Black Sword", which deals in arson and assassination. In the south, where ben Youssef has a strong following among the nomadic tribes, dissidence and complete anarchy prevailed for a time. Desperate and hungry after seven years of drought, locust plagues, and poor crops, the tribes, moving north on their annual migration, occupied the fields of ripening wheat, whether French or Moslem, and took

the grain to feed themselves. Open fighting against the French broke out in the south among the Berber tribes of the Matmata mountains, and French troops were rushed in to put down this largely unpublicized rebellion in the south. Violence continued there up to the moment of the national elections.

The Neo-Destour party, strongly backed by the new Tunisian Muslim labor union, won the national election by a large majority. The National Front platform called for a constitutional monarchy along western lines: Emphasis was placed on democratic institutions and social reforms, with planned practical efforts to meet the great unemployment problem, provide land for landless farmers, and the need for industrial development.

Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour party who had been long in exile, returned to Tunisia, greatly welcomed by his followers, and demonstrated against by followers of his rival ben Youssef. At the first session of the new Tunisian Assembly, Bourguiba was elected president of the Assembly by acclaim, and the Bey of Tunis requested that he become the first Premier of the new Government. This Cabinet was formally invested by the Bey on April 15th.

The Bourguiba government turned immediately from politics to practical social reforms, some of which have taken more moral courage than fighting the French. Since Independence a good deal has been accomplished. A Constitution is being written. The administration has been simplified, for, instead of 30 *caids*, there are now only 14 regional governors. The *waqf* lands have been nationalized, to benefit the landless, with no open opposition, though a great deal of covert opposition comes from conservative elements. With the release of *waqf*

funds and collection of war damages, the Tunisian budget has been balanced for the first time in many decades. The Bey's pay has been reduced considerably, though Bourguiba pointed out, when the monarch objected, that it was still higher than that of the President of the French Republic. The Bey's family has been deprived of their legal immunity and exemptions from taxes. All literate Tunisian women have been given the vote. Five embassies have been set up, those of France, Morocco, Libya, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. An American embassy will be set up soon. A start has been made toward building up a Tunisian army.

While Bourguiba is firmly in the saddle, and has no opposition within his cabinet, or in the majority of his party, other elements do stand in the sidelines. The old aristocracy, the religious leaders deprived of the *waqf* foundations, the Bey's family, who number at least 200 men of influence, and the conservative Muslims of wealth are some of these factors. At stake are their influence and prestige and many of them resent a westernized Tunisia. Bourguiba, looks to the western world and the U.N. for help, but is willing to cooperate now with the French, if necessary. He is meeting with difficulties emanating from several sides. Egypt, and quite possibly Russia, also is backing his rival Salah ben Youssef, who moves between Italy, Cairo, and Libya, buying arms and smuggling them into Tunisia and Algeria, and stirring the nomad tribes in the south to rebellion.

But Bourguiba is an astute leader whose westernization has not led him to forget the value of the traditional symbols of leadership and patterns of rule among his tribesmen. He mastered the situation in the south by making a journey to talk to the dissident shaykhs. He took their hospitality, went to feasts and explained his plans to build the future of the country on hope and help. Mounted on a white stallion, in Muslim dress, and waving a sabre, he won over the shouting crowds and received their assurances of allegiance.

The French army is still in southern

Tunisia, trying to seal off the arms traffic to Algeria. The Tunisians protest. Bourguiba constantly asserts to the French the Tunisian sympathy for and sense of brotherhood with the Algerians in their efforts to gain independence. He maintains that the activities of 40,000 French troops in the country are inconsistent with independence. The French have requested that they retain the naval base of Bizerte and the surrounding zone. Tunisians do not want any Tunisian land at all under French control. Tensions and arguments are arising.

The situation is now in a state of near crisis. The French Advisory Chamber voted down the proposal of a 47 million dollar aid to Tunisia. The French Assembly can over-rule this action if it chooses. French Foreign Minister Pineau has stated firmly that French forces intend to remain in Tunisia to cut off help to the Algerian rebels. The Tunisian delegation in France negotiating for a treaty of alliance has broken off negotiations. Premier Bourguiba has asserted that all further negotiations would be refused while France persists in maintaining occupation of a part of Tunisian territory, and threatened that Tunisia would resume fighting for its independence unless France removed her troops from the country at once.

### The Secretary General's Missions

A new visit by U.N. Secretary General Hammarskjöld in July to the countries involved in the Palestine Armistice followed up the limited success of his spring visit. The Secretary General was able to obtain then from the participants what he considered an unconditional cease-fire, even if the parties, as seemed later, had other interpretations. But, as in previous similar attempts at peace-making, the tempo of incidents and accompanying inflammatory declarations, began to rise as time passed. The end of the long tenure of Moshe Sharett as Foreign Minister of Israel and the appointment to the post of Mrs. Golda Myerson, considered as more "activist" than

the former, was equated by many, as the loss of a moderate element, with the dismissal of General Sir John Glubb of Jordan in the spring. The words "preventive war" began to be heard again, but Prime Minister Ben Gurion denied in vigorous terms on successive occasions that any such policy was in the offing.

How successful Mr. Hammarskjöld might be in his second round of attempts to alleviate, rather than solve, the problem was certainly all conjecture. It has been a constant in this difficult business that "approaches" are used up very quickly indeed. A new method or a new personality injected into the situation has often brought promise for a time of real assuagement only, later, to be swept aside by events. The Secretary General has the not inconsiderable advantages that accrue from working quietly, promising little and combining zeal with patience, professional skill and a genius for non-involvement—qualities which his more unfortunate predecessor did not always have.

### Cyprus Impasse

The optimism of British authorities on Cyprus that deportation of Archbishop Makarios would enable them to deal with Greek Cypriote moderates towards a solution of the Cyprus issue, and eliminate terrorism more easily, was not borne out by events. Bishop Anthimos, acting head of the Ethnarchy, proved easier to deal with than had "Black Mack" (or "Old Malaria"), as the British troopers labelled Makarios, but Anthimos showed singular inability to bend other Greek Cypriotes to his views. Seventeen members of the "hard core" of EOKA were captured, and the British were so close to Col. George Grivas, reputed leader of the terrorist organization, at one point that they captured his hat and binoculars. The collective fines levied on Famagusta and Limassol, although their legal basis was challenged in court by Cypriote residents of the two towns, was a slight deterrent to public support of terrorism. But

in general EOKA actions remained a nuisance to the British and a bogey to the people.

As was the case in Palestine, where the Stern and Irgun gangs used terrorism for wider political purposes, the EOKA terrorists were able by virtue of their acts not only to exasperate the British but to draw condemnation on them from other quarters. The killing of an American vice-consul in Nicosia, for example, was apologized for in EOKA leaflets as a mistake. Nevertheless the State Department was sufficiently angered to cry "A plague on both your houses!" to Cypriotes and British as well.

The latest step in Cyprus' relations with the political world was taken by Turkey. After months of refraining from public utterances on the ultimate disposition of the island, the Turkish Government publicly stated, categorically, that it would not countenance eventual self-determination, in any form, for Cyprus. The statement came on the heels of a reported British plan to offer Cyprus self-determination in ten years. Communal strife between Turks and Greeks, and pressure exerted by the head of the Turkish community, Dr. Fazil Küçük, on his visit to Ankara, apparently spurred Turkey to clarify its stand. One recognizes the dead hand of the Lausanne Treaty in the Turkish attitude; having surrendered all claims to Cyprus to Britain, in accordance with her post-World War I determination to hold only her original territory, Turkey now considers herself to have the *a priori* right to possession of Cypriote real estate should the owner depart. Thus the impasse is complete.

### Iraqi Development

Much is talked and written about development plans in the Middle East and all the projects that might be usefully carried out add up to impressive goals in the search of peoples for more of what are now accepted everywhere as the good things of life. But it is somewhat surprising that

news of what has been and is being accomplished in one Middle Eastern country, Iraq, has been only summarily treated in this country and elsewhere. In the welter of political speculation, solid accomplishment has been almost ignored.

Within the first week of April a number of vital developments, talked about for generations and planned since Sir William Willcocks made his report on Mesopotamia in 1911, were inaugurated. Principal among these were the flood control works on the Tigris and Euphrates, at Samarra and Ramadi, respectively. The Samarra works consist of a barrage across the river and a 56 kilometer canal behind it, to divert spring flood waters into the Wadi Tharthar depression below sea-level to the west and off the plains of Baghdad. The barrage and canal were completed this year at the cost of \$40,000,000, the first large works begun and finished under the auspices of the Iraq Development Board. Their beneficence was well demonstrated a few days after King Faisal II had inaugurated them on April 2. The barrage was closed and the canal opened to reduce the level of the Tigris and save Baghdad from threat of flooding. At maximum capacity, these works can divert some 9,000 cubic meters of water per second, or more than two-thirds of the greatest recorded Tigris flood. In addition, the barrage was designed so as to permit installation of 100,000 kilowatt capacity turbines later, when needed.

Three days later, the Ramadi Barrage was also inaugurated by the King. To serve the same purpose on the Euphrates as does the other on the Tigris, this installation includes as well a complex of two reservoirs, Habbaniyyah and Abu Dhibbis, and the channels and regulators necessary at various levels. The entire system has been under construction since 1939, but the greater part of the work has been done under the Five Year Development Plan.

During the same week important new segments of Iraq's growing transportation network, in the form of new roads and

bridges, were also inaugurated. Work on the Darband-i-Khan Dam on the Diyala river goes forward. The diversion canal will be complete before next year's flood. Any one who has seen recent photographs of Baghdad would find it difficult to recognize a city he had known a few years ago. New bridges, public buildings and housing developments to rid the city of the *sarifa* slums have transformed it dramatically. And not only in the capital has this transformation gone on. New installations bring industry to Sulaimaniyyah, in the Kurdish North. Kirkuk is a startling example of how oil wealth brings change to a provincial town.

For the years 1956-1960, plans are even vaster in the expectation of increased income. Flood control and irrigation works are budgeted at \$430,000,000. Various industrial, mining and electrification installations are to cost some \$190,000,000. The new road system, possible now that floods will not wipe out hard work is an \$180,000,000 item; bridges, \$65,000,000. New public buildings will be erected at a cost of \$90,000,000; a public housing program, to furnish part of the 500,000 units deemed necessary in the next ten years, will amount to \$70,000,000. Hospitals and sanitation facilities will cost more than \$80,000,000. There are dozens of smaller items.

Lord Salter, British economic adviser to the Iraqi government, has estimated that the income of Iraqis will be doubled in a generation; others are even more optimistic.

### India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan

The normal course of events since the Partition of India and the decision of Afghanistan to abandon her traditional isolation, should have been toward closer links between India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Karachi is the sea outlet for Afghan goods. Pakistan's chief sources of water originate in Indian territory. But logical interdependence continues to be blocked by two political issues.

Kashmir and Pushtoonistan are the two

issues causing this quarrel of the subcontinent, and have been artificially sustained since, to the real detriment of political and economic relations.

Soviet Party leader Khruschev's statement that Kashmir belonged unconditionally to India encouraged Nehru to make two pronouncements. The first was the complete rejection of a plebiscite, since US military aid to Pakistan and constitutional development in Kashmir had completely altered the basis of the dispute. The second was his willingness to negotiate a partition of Kashmir along the present ceasefire line; this would give Jammu, Ladakh, and the Vale of Kashmir itself to India. Nehru's confidence in the loyalty of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's government in Srinagar became more apparent in the announcement that Shaikh Abdullah, the "Lion of Kashmir" and former Prime Minister put under detention in 1953 because he seemed to be playing for an independent Kashmir, would be released in time to participate in the fall elections.

Pakistan continued to accuse India of intransigence on Kashmir and to press for a plebiscite, which would "prove" the desire of the province to accede to Pakistan. In point of fact Pakistan's demands overlook the religious and racial differentiations of the province; Buddhist Ladakh and Hindu Jammu have as little in common with Pakistan as Muslim Gilgit and Chitral have with India. Only the 1,200,000 Muslims of the Vale are "misplaced". What their preferences for accession are has not become a matter of public record, since India has said that their government is duly elected and a plebiscite would merely prove an obvious fact. India's legalistic attitude toward Kashmir, ironically, is the same as that held by the Portuguese on Goa.

Pakistan's quarrel with Afghanistan over

Pushtoonistan is equally emotional. The Durand Line, demarcated in 1893, established the Indian-Afghanistan border, and divided the Pathans inhabiting the border area roughly in half. Pakistan, claiming to be the heir to British rights under international law, has gradually consolidated the Muslim tribesmen of the Northwest Frontier Province and Tribal Territory under a unified West Pakistan state. With the substitution of a Muslim for an infidel central authority, the area has become quite peaceful.

The ruling element in Afghanistan is Pathan (or Afghan), and the Afghans defend their more than cousinly interest on grounds that the tribesmen are nomads who do not observe political boundaries. The Afghans want a plebiscite for Pushtoonistan, to allow the Pathans (or Pushtoons) to decide whether they want independence from Pakistan or autonomy. They say that their two previous acceptances of the validity of the Durand Line were made with the British, not the Pakistanis, and doesn't count.

The tragic consequence of these two issues is economic. Afghanistan recently admitted that Pakistan's blockade of her transit route through Karachi forced her to route her foreign trade through the Soviet Union. Though the route is now open, the Afghans say that deliberate slowdown tactics have kept their imports far below the usual amounts. The Russians have been helpful in other ways. Their \$100,000,000 credit of last December (repayable in 30 years at 2%) was followed in April and May by "impact" gifts—paving of Kabul's streets, a grain elevator, a bakery, and a 100-bed hospital. American aid to Afghanistan, which must be increased if the country is not to be tied completely to the Soviet economy, remains at about half the Soviet contribution.

## Chronology

March 1-May 31, 1956

### General

**1956**

- Mar. 2:** Jordan's ouster of Lt. Gen. John Bagot Glubb as commander of the Arab Legion was hailed in Cairo as a victory for Premier Nasir and a blow to British and Western prestige in the Middle East.
- Mar. 5:** After three meetings with Indian Prime Minister Nehru and other leaders, British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd said that there was not much point to India's argument that the Baghdad Pact tended to split Arab unity.
- Mar. 6:** British Ambassador to France Sir Gladwyn Jebb praised French policy in North Africa in a report to Associated Regional Newspapers in Paris.
- Mar. 7:** The leaders of the Arab "Big Three"—Premier Nasir of Egypt, President al-Quwwatli of Syria, and King Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia—began discussions on coordination of their plans for both war and peace in the Middle East.
- Mar. 9:** Sir Anthony Eden declared that his Government's position in regard to Jordan and the rest of the Middle East would continue to be one of watching and waiting, despite increasing opposition in Parliament.
- Mar. 10:** King Husayn of Jordan declined an invitation to join the conference of the Arab "Big Three" and indicated that he would continue his middle-of-the-road position which would not antagonize the West but remain on friendly terms with all Arab countries. He emphasized that the dismissal of Gen. Glubb was a personal matter and would not alter Jordan's relations with the British.
- Mar. 15:** Antony Head, British Secretary of State for War, arrived in Suez to inspect the final stage of withdrawal of British forces.
- Mar. 17:** Secretary for War Head told a press conference in Cairo that the last British soldier would be out of the Suez Canal Zone before June 18, the final date for evacuation.
- Mar. 20:** American Ambassador C. Douglas Dillon said in Paris that the U. S. fully supported France in her attempts to find a liberal solution to her North African problems. The speech made a distinction between Morocco and Tunisia, as protectorates, and Algeria, which the Ambassador called "French territory".
- Mar. 23:** Intensive conferences were held between Syrian Premier Sa'id Ghazzi and new Lebanese Premier 'Abdallah al-Yafi during the week ending Mar. 29 for the working out of unified Arab

plans for dealing with the Arab-Israeli dispute over the Jordan River. Topics discussed were 1) what to do if Israel decides to go ahead with her own plan for using the river; 2) plans for backing Syria if she takes the dispute before the UN; 3) the Arab position on the modified Jordan plan proposed by the West for the mutual benefit of Arabs and Israelis.

**Mar. 24:** French Premier Mollet declared that some kind of arms embargo must be established in the Middle East.

**Mar. 25:** The British Foreign Office challenged a statement by Premier Nasir of Egypt that he was not opposed to British interests in the Middle East. Officials declared that anti-British propaganda by Egypt contradicted this statement.

**Mar. 30:** French Foreign Minister Pineau protested to the Ambassadors of Syria and Lebanon in Paris about the wording of an Arab League resolution supporting Algerians in rebellion against French rule.

**Mar. 31:** Easter services were held in Jerusalem (Jordanian sector) with fewer pilgrims than usual in attendance due to the threat of war.

**Apr. 3:** U. S. Secretary of State Dulles said that U. S. forces might be sent into action in the Middle East without Congressional authority in the event of an emergency. But he added that he was unaware of any emergency that would require such an action.

The USSR charged in the UN Security Council that certain Western nations were planning armed intervention in the Middle East. Soviet representative Sobolev asserted the situation in the area had become worse following conversations of the Western powers in Washington.

**Apr. 5:** The Arab League Council met in Cairo for the second time.

**Apr. 7:** 'Abd al-Krim, leader of the Riff warriors, appeared before the Arab League Political Committee to demand an Arab boycott of France in support of North African nationalist aims. He urged boycott in all fields, economic, political, and cultural.

**Apr. 9:** The U. S. pledged itself to oppose Middle East aggression within constitutional means and to assist the victims of aggression, in a statement issued by U. S. Press Secretary Hagerty.

**Apr. 10:** The Economic Council of the Baghdad Pact met for the first time in Tehran. It issued a statement that Britain was prepared to offer £250,000 annually for technical help to the other Pact countries. This was in addition to the sums

already earmarked for an atomic energy center in Baghdad.

*Apr. 13:* The U. S. Navy announced it was sending a division of destroyers (4 ships) to the Mediterranean. It denied the move was in connection with increased tension in the Middle East.

Sir Winston Churchill said in a speech that Britain's honor required her to go to the assistance of Israel if the latter were attacked by Egypt. He predicted that Britain and the U. S. would halt any aggression.

*Apr. 15:* The chiefs of the Baghdad Pact delegations met in Tehran to draft the agenda for the opening session of the Ministerial Council.

*Apr. 17:* The Ministerial Council of the Pact approved a proposal to take collective action against subversion in the territories of the member states, and to pool their police resources and information on subversive groups.

*Apr. 18:* The U. S. became a full member of the Economic Committee of the Baghdad Pact.

*Apr. 19:* The U. S. agreed to establish a military liaison office at the permanent headquarters of the Pact organization. It also joined the committee formed to resist subversion in the member countries.

*Apr. 21:* Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen signed a 5-year military alliance.

*Apr. 23:* Italy's Foreign Minister Gaetano Martino stated that Italy would not be excluded from any international agreements affecting the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

*May 25:* Algerian nationalist representatives addressed a meeting of Asian and African delegates to the UN and charged France with greatly increased repressive measures against Algerian rebels. The UN delegates then decided to ask the Security Council to take up the Algerian question.

*May 30:* The Policy Committee of the World Veterans Federation unanimously approved a resolution to support the principles of human freedom in the cases of Cyprus and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

*May 31:* The French National Assembly opened debate on Premier Mollet's North African policy. He was attacked by both moderate, conservative groups and extreme radicals.

## Aden

(See also Yemen)

1956

*Mar. 21:* Five thousand workers at the Little Aden oil refinery went on strike for higher wages, recognition of public holidays, union hours, and rent controls. They set fire to a building in the Levantine camp at the refinery.

*Mar. 22:* Transport workers, who had joined the strike of oil refinery workers, returned to work in Aden Colony.

*Mar. 23:* The Government published a new wage scale, as follows: young persons 5s. 6d. a day; unskilled workers 5s.; skilled workers 5s. 6d. Violence erupted in the wake of the continuing Little Aden refinery strike. Workers burned a section of a Levies' camp. One man was killed by British troops.

*Mar. 28:* The Government announced the raising of salaries. Those below £366 per annum were increased £18; those between £366 and £546 were increased £12.

*Apr. 6:* Two thousand dock workers struck for a 30% pay increase. The employers offered a 20% increase.

*Apr. 23:* British governor Sir Tom Hickinbotham withdrew his ultimatum to Yemen to withdraw its troops from the Western Protectorate, because Yemen had proposed a meeting at Beihan to settle the problem.

*Apr. 25:* All but 1000 of the striking dock workers in Aden returned to work and agreed to refer their dispute to arbitration.

*Apr. 29:* Sayyid Hassun 'Ali Bayyumi, president of the Aden Association, sent a note to Governor Hickinbotham demanding self-government. The note urged election of a majority of the members of the Legislative Council, not simply a proportion, the election of municipal council, and the giving of senior posts to Aden natives instead of recruiting these from the U.K. It also requested the issuance of scholarships for study in the U. K. to the extent of £20,000, and recognition of Arabic as the second official language.

*May 2:* British jet fighters fired on Arab tribesmen who attacked Khaura Fort in Upper Aulaqi Sultanate. No casualties were reported.

*May 12:* The British Government granted £26,000 to relieve famine among bedouin tribes in the north of eastern Aden Protectorate, primarily to buy 220 tons of grain to replenish central stocks and build up the reserve fund maintained by local protectorate rulers.

*May 14:* A delegation of 6 Adenis explained their demands for self-government within the British Commonwealth to British Foreign Secretary Lloyd in Aden. In addition to the requests made Apr. 29 to Governor Hickinbotham, they asked for formation of a militia and stiffer immigration laws.

*May 20:* British jets forced 130 armed tribesmen coming across the Eastern Aden Desert from Saudi Arabia to surrender to local security forces.

*May 21:* The British reported the tribesmen seized on May 20 were from Najran, Saudi Arabia.

*May 27:* Salih bin Ghalib al-Qu'aiti, Sultan of Shahr and Mukalla and Premier of Eastern Aden Protectorate, died in Aden at the age of 78.

*May 28:* Leaflets were distributed in several parts of the Aden Protectorate calling on the people to revolt against their rulers.

## Afghanistan

(See also Pakistan)

1956

**Mar. 1:** A technical assistance agreement was signed between the USSR and Afghanistan. Projects to be developed under the agreement were 2 hydroelectric power plants, a motor repair shop, a motor road through the Hindu Kush, and construction of air fields and irrigation reservoirs.

**Mar. 8:** The Afghan Embassy in New Delhi said that any decisions taken by the Manila Powers on Afghanistan's dispute with Pakistan would be considered worthless.

**Mar. 21:** Afghanistan protested formally to the SEATO powers regarding their decision to uphold the present Afghan-Pakistani frontier.

**Mar. 26:** The International Cooperation Administration announced a grant of \$997,000 to Teachers' College of Columbia University towards the formation of an English-language program in Afghan secondary schools, including the training of Afghan teachers of English.

Afghanistan and the USSR signed an agreement to establish an air service.

**Mar. 31:** A shipment of 15 autobuses, spare parts, and equipment for a 100-bed hospital was presented to the Kabul Municipality by the USSR.

**Apr. 8:** A party of Pakhtuns raided a Pakistan military camp at Spinwam.

**Apr. 20:** The Afghan military mission visiting Prague indicated it would recommend purchase of a large quantity of Czech arms for Afghanistan. A member of the mission stated that Afghanistan needed arms because Pakistan and Iraq had arms.

**May 19:** An Austrian trade mission arrived in Kabul to explore the possibilities of investment in Afghanistan.

**May 27:** The Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that it approved of Indian Prime Minister Nehru's proposal for ending the Algerian revolution.

## Algeria

(See also India, Iraq, Morocco)

1956

**Mar. 3:** French troops smashed 2 rebel encampments in Algeria, killing 22 rebels and capturing 26.

**Mar. 8:** Robert Lacoste, French Minister Residing in Algeria, told the French National Assembly that a major military, economic, and social effort was necessary to check the tide of rebellion in the protectorate. He blamed French neglect and failure to keep promises as largely responsible for the situation. He cited the fact that only 8 of 864 major administrative posts were held by Muslims, although the 1947 statute declared Algeria to be an integral part of France.

**Mar. 10:** In Paris, officials studying the surprise strike and demonstration by Algerian workers on Mar. 9 declared that the workers were under orders from a clandestine nationalist organization headed by Hadj Messali, who was now under French control at Angoulême.

**Mar. 11:** Mohammed Kabir, acting as head of the Algerian rebel chieftains, made an urgent appeal for arms to the heads of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria as they met in Cairo. He said France was preparing a spring offensive to crush the nationalist movement.

**Mar. 16:** Algiers was placed under curfew in the wake of terrorist raids the night of Mar. 15. The raids were carried out against a garage, a cork factory, and the Algiers bus depot.

French troops killed 107 rebels and seized a supply of arms and ammunition in the hills near La Fayette, between Setif and Bougie.

**Mar. 19:** New decrees were issued limiting travel by Algerians living in France. Special authorization was required for internal travel. Other decrees made military courts competent to deal with terrorist offenses, and made it possible to ban all public and private gatherings if deemed controversial. A second series of decrees raised agricultural wages from the equivalent of \$1.20 to \$1.50 a day, and set the maximum age for Muslims wishing to sit for competitive exams leading to civil service careers at 5 years higher, 35 instead of 30.

Twelve out of 58 Muslim delegates to the Assembly defied Algerian rebels by taking their seats in plenary session, despite threats of death.

A meeting of the Sixty-One, a group of moderate Algerian politicians, produced a manifesto calling for immediate abolition of the Assembly and of all other local elected bodies. Only 12 members attended.

**Mar. 22:** Troop reinforcements brought in by helicopter enabled Algerian French auxiliaries to beat off a rebel attack at Souk-el-Arba.

**Mar. 23:** The French Cabinet voted a series of economic decrees in Algeria at the request of Minister Resident Lacoste. Two important measures were: 1) modification of the sharecropping system to require landlords to share with their tenants on a 50/50 basis; 2) increased employment of Muslims in the Administration and Government-financed enterprises.

**Mar. 26:** A French fuel depot was set on fire in Tlemcen, but was brought under control without extensive damage by troops fresh from Germany.

**Mar. 30:** An 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew was placed on Tlemcen.

**Mar. 31:** Algerian nationalists appealed to the UN for help and charged that France was conducting a colonial war of reconquest.

Claude Bourdet, a prominent newspaper critic of the French Government's policy in North Africa,

was jailed in Paris and charged with working to demoralize the French army.

U. S. Consul General Lewis Clark formally visited a \$50,000,000 French municipal housing project, called the "Bidonville project" in Algiers. His visit underscored the new U. S. policy of firmly backing France's attempts to stay in North Africa through liberal reforms.

*Apr. 1:* A train carrying 600 French troops was derailed between Tlemcen and Turenne, but there were no casualties. The Easter weekend death toll was 231 rebels killed, 12 French Muslims killed. French troop casualties were not announced. Algerian workers at Lille, France, demonstrated against French military measures in Algeria.

*Apr. 2:* Algerians demonstrated at Metz, Thionville, and Maubegue, France. Six hundred were jailed at Maubegue. About 1000 new French troops landed at Bone, Algeria.

*Apr. 3:* The death toll in Algerian clashes was 127 rebels, 10 civilians, and 9 French soldiers during the 24-hour period.

*Apr. 5:* French Resident Minister Lacoste won approval from the Cabinet on his plan to send 100,000 more French troops to Algeria.

Iraq protested to France against what she called France's "massacre and imperialism policy" in Algeria.

*Apr. 6:* A French force operating in eastern Algeria suffered heavy casualties in a battle with rebels, with 17 French reported killed.

*Apr. 7:* About 228 rebels and 92 French soldiers were killed in clashes throughout Algeria, in some of the bloodiest fighting of the revolt.

*Apr. 11:* Twenty French Legionnaires were killed in ambush near Nedromah.

*Apr. 13:* French Premier Mollet offered to negotiate a ceasefire with Algerian rebels, but refused to consider discussions with rebel leaders on Algeria's future status. It was the first indication that the French considered negotiating with leaders of the National Liberation Front as representatives of the Algerian people. However, the discussions offered pertained to purely local matters in connexion with a ceasefire.

*Apr. 15:* A statement attributed to rebels and published in the Tunis weekly newspaper *Action*, (organ of the Neo-Destour Party), said that an Algerian ceasefire was contingent on French recognition of Algeria's independence. The statement blamed the French for the fighting and said that the National Liberation Front was pledged to complete destruction of the structure of the "colonialist army".

*Apr. 16:* About 250 French and Algerians were killed in weekend battles. In one battle at Garem northwest of Constantine 112 were killed.

*Apr. 19:* French citizens demonstrated at Vauvert and Aigues-Mortes in southern France to try to

prevent young reservists from leaving for service in Algeria.

*Apr. 21:* French troops in helicopters attacked rebel hideouts in Constantine Department, and reported killing 141 rebels.

Algerian nationalists massacred more than 100 villagers in 12 villages in the Soummam valley of the Kabylia Mtns., after the villagers had requested French protection.

*Apr. 23:* Exiled leaders of the Algerian rebellion said in Cairo that 4 of their colleagues had abandoned their moderate position and left Algeria to join the National Liberation Front in exile.

*Apr. 25:* Ferhat Abbas, leader of the moderate Democratic Union of Algerian Manifesto group, said that his group had joined forces with the National Liberation Front in an all-out war for freedom from French rule.

*Apr. 27:* French Minister Residing in Algeria Lacoste said that France would not consider negotiating with the nationalist rebels. He emphasized the "indissoluble ties" between France and Algeria.

*May 1:* Paris police arrested 2500 Algerians parading to demonstrate in favor of a free Algeria and supporting the rebellion.

Benoit Frachon, Communist chief of the General Confederation of Labor in France, called for united labor opposition to French military tactics in Algeria.

French police clashed with 4000 Algerians in Algiers. One Algerian was killed and 9 injured.

*May 2:* French security forces killed 50 rebels in 4 major actions at Duvivier, Khenchela, El Milia, and Azazga. Two native villages in the Soummam valley put themselves under French protection.

*May 3:* Dr. Tedjini Haddam, a well-known Constantine physician, was accused of being the leader of the rebel organization in that area, and a warrant issued for his arrest.

*May 7:* Attacks by nationalists in western Algeria resulted in the deaths of 20 Europeans and 5 Arabs. Telephone communications between Algeria and Morocco were cut. About 40 farms were attacked and burned. A section of French Senegalese troops was captured near Karia Ba Mohammed.

*May 8:* Irving Brown, chief European representative of the AFL-CIO, was banned from Algeria by the French Government for anti-French activity.

Europeans in Algiers celebrating V-E Day greeted French Minister Lacoste and Mayor Chevallier with flying tomatoes and told them to resign.

*May 9:* French Minister Lacoste said that Algerian rebels hope to oust the French from North Africa through foreign intervention and pressure. He said that his reason for banning Irving Brown

from Algeria was that Brown had encouraged the labor forces in Algeria seeking separation.

Rebels smashed 46 villages in eastern Algeria with automatic weapons and killed at least 14 persons.

*May 10:* The eastern third of Algeria was placed under martial law.

*May 11:* French police impounded the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* for circulation of an article by its Algerian correspondent, Robert Lambotte, describing alleged eyewitness reports of French reprisals against Muslims.

*May 12:* Nationalists staged a raid in Constantine, killing 13 pro-French Arabs and wounding 9 others by a bomb thrown into a Jewish cafe. French reports claimed 175 rebels killed in battles in eastern Algeria.

*May 13:* More violence in Constantine caused 6 Arab deaths, 4 injured.

*May 14:* French forces cordoned off the Jewish quarter of Constantine.

*May 15:* French troops trapped 250 rebels near Tagueuse, on the Libyan border, killing 31. In Algiers, 2000 European university students asked Minister Lacoste to waive their national service postponement so they could be mobilized for service in Algeria.

*May 19:* A joint communiqué signed by Soviet leaders and French Ministers Mollet and Pineau reflected Soviet doubt on France's ability to find a solution in Algeria.

*May 20:* Five Algerian rebel political leaders, including Ferhat Abbas, left Tripoli for Europe in a search for more foreign support.

*May 21:* Nationalists raided a village near Philippeville and killed 17 Muslims, apparently in retaliation for the village's request for French protection.

*May 23:* Former Premier Mendes-France resigned from the French Cabinet. He expressed his belief that the Government's failure to accompany military with political action in Algeria designed to restore Muslim confidence in French intentions would lead to the loss of Algeria.

Three hundred French reservists recalled to duty in Algeria demonstrated to show their protests, and tried to stop a troop train.

A force of 3000 French soldiers attacked rebel bands in the Mt. Bou Zegza area and reported 17 rebels killed.

*May 25:* The French Army began to close off the Algerian-Moroccan frontier with a barbed-wire fence. When completed, the barrier would be 100 miles long and run from Port Saya south to El Aricha on the edge of the Sahara.

*May 26:* Algerian rebels cut the throats of 12 French civilians in a raid on a construction company camp in eastern Algeria. Terrorists dynamited the Idimadden Dam near Boghni, set fire to a grain

storage depot in Algiers, and wounded 2 in a grenade-throwing at a synagogue in Batna.

*May 27:* The Casbah in Algiers was cordoned off and a police dragnet instituted by French troops; 6000 Algerians were seized for questioning. A considerable quantity of propaganda material and arms was discovered. A French Communist, Desire Dubau, was arrested and found to be in the possession of a miniature arsenal.

*May 28:* French troops killed 35 rebels in 2 skirmishes in Algeria.

Several thousand Communist-led workers rioted in St. Nazaire against the Government recall of reservists for service in Algeria.

*May 29:* French Minister Lacoste said that the problem of Algeria was an internal one and would never be settled "in an international setting."

*May 31:* Seven villages in the Bordjou-Arreridj area, between Algiers and Constantine, placed themselves under French protection after French troops had defeated a rebel band in the area, killing 60 and capturing 15.

## Cyprus

1956

*Mar. 1:* British Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd and Archbishop Makarios failed to reach agreement on a political settlement in Cyprus in a night meeting.

*Mar. 2:* Archbishop Makarios blamed Britain for the breakdown in negotiations. He said that although he could not condone violence, as a religious leader, Britain's stubbornness had created a climate in which terrorism was likely to continue. He stated the refusal of the British to accept the Cypriote request to make membership in the proposed Legislative Assembly proportionate was the key to the deadlock.

A British police superintendent, Philip Atfield, killed himself in Nicosia.

*Mar. 3:* Archbishop Makarios issued a statement saying he would make no move to reopen negotiations for Cypriote autonomy.

*Mar. 5:* The British broke off negotiations with Makarios, and said they would stamp out terrorism before any further discussions with Cypriote leaders over the future of the island. They said Makarios refused to accept a compromise concession on amnesty and on the control of internal security, and to work out the future of the composition of the assembly with due regard for minority representation.

*Mar. 6:* A night ban was imposed on motorcycles and bicycles in Nicosia, between 6:30 p.m. and 4 a.m.

Britain began jamming the Athens radio as a safety measure in retaliation for Greek inflammatory broadcasts to Cyprus.

*Mar. 7:* Six Cypriot youths were sentenced to life imprisonment for having carried weapons and explosives in Cyprus against British rule.

Greek Premier Karamanlis said that Britain had "failed to grasp" the significance of the Cyprus question.

*Mar. 9:* The British authorities on Cyprus deported Archbishop Makarios, Bishop Kyprianos of Kyrenia, extreme right-wing church leader, and two others, to the Seychelles Islands. Governor Harding said in a statement that the Archbishop was so far committed to the use of violence for political ends that his presence on the island made it impossible to deal with Greek Cypriots in an orderly fashion.

U. S. officials in Washington predicted that the deportation of Makarios might lead to further weakening of the Balkan Alliance, and was a mistake.

*Mar. 10:* A general strike in protest against the Makarios deportation completely paralyzed Cyprus. In Athens, and Salonika, demonstrations against the British injured at least 90 persons. A mob sacked the British Consulates in Heraklion, Greece, and Candia, Crete.

The liberal press in England attacked Prime Minister Eden over the deportation. Newspapers called it "too drastic" and "a blunder."

*Mar. 11:* Greece announced she would permit protest rallies on the issue of Cyprus throughout the nation on Mar. 12.

The British sought new evidence linking Archbishop Makarios with the EOKA terrorists. They searched his palace, and reported they had found an "important cache" of EOKA documents, including several signed "Dighenis," the presumed leader of the EOKA terrorists.

*Mar. 12:* The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus appealed to President Eisenhower to use his influence to end the exile of Archbishop Makarios.

Britain demanded a U. S. explanation for the statement of Ambassador Cannon in Athens expressing sympathy over recent developments in Cyprus. The U. S. offered to help Britain and Greece reach a "just solution" to the island's problems. Greece asked the United Nations to debate the Cyprus issue, and charged the British administration of the island with arbitrary measures, culminating in the Makarios deportation.

*Mar. 14:* A British constable was killed in Nicosia. Curfews were placed on Nicosia and Larnaca, where a 7-year old boy was shot by a British soldier. Larnaca's inhabitants were put under virtual house arrest.

*Mar. 15:* The Archbishop of Canterbury criticized the deportation of Archbishop Makarios as sacrilegious. He suggested a 3-point plan for solving the Cyprus problem consisting of (1) a constitution drafted along the lines indicated by the negotiations, with a timetable for its implementation, (2)

joint Greek-British-Turkish appeal for an end to violence; (3) a guarantee to Makarios that his exile would end when order was restored and negotiations with him resumed upon completion of the draft constitution.

*Mar. 16:* Field Marshal Sir John Harding approved a decree forcing 10 Greek families to leave their homes and 20 shopkeepers to close their stores in Nicosia, for failure to collaborate with British security forces.

Martial law was placed on Limassol, Cyprus' largest port city.

A four-hour protest strike was held in Greece over the deportation.

*Mar. 17:* Cypriote guerillas wounded 5 British commandos in an ambush near Khandris, in the Troodos Mountains.

The Cypriote Ethnarchy sent a message to U. S. Consul General Courtney charging the British Government with bad faith in the breakdown of negotiations between Governor Harding and Archbishop Makarios.

*Mar. 18:* Governor Harding said that six months might be necessary to crush terrorism in Cyprus. He said there would be no British move to reopen negotiations until that time.

*Mar. 19:* A Greek mob attacked the Turkish quarter of Vasilia village and wounded a number of Turkish women and children. The town of Lapithos, nearby, was fined £7,000 for disorders culminating in the bombing of a British truck.

*Mar. 20:* Turkish Cypriote mobs attacked Greek shops in Nicosia in return for the Greek stonings of Turks in Vasilia.

*Mar. 21:* An unexploded time bomb was discovered in Governor Harding's bed. A faulty mechanism kept it from exploding.

*Mar. 22:* Governor Harding dismissed his entire staff of Greek Cypriote servants as a result of the time bomb incident.

A British Commissioner held a public inquiry at Vasilia over Greek-Turkish communal clashes on March 19 in that village.

*Mar. 23:* Greece charged in the United Nations that Britain had made Cyprus into an immense concentration camp.

Three leaders of the opposition were briefed in Athens by Premier Karamanlis on the Cyprus situation and the Government's view.

*Mar. 25:* Governor Harding imposed a curfew over most of Cyprus to prevent celebrations on the anniversary of Greek independence. Both Turkish and Greek Cypriotes were affected. Internal trunk phone calls were also banned, and Cypriotes kept under virtual house arrest.

*Mar. 26:* The 24-hour curfew imposed on Cyprus was called a success. Expected opposition did not materialize. There were fewer than 600 arrests, mostly in Limassol; all arrested were released on bail.

*Mar. 27:* Three members of the British security forces were killed in an ambush at Phrenaros, near Famagusta. Earlier, a Greek customs official was killed by terrorists at Limassol, after the discovery of a shipment of ammunition concealed in a package supposedly containing books.

Governor Harding delivered the annual budget message to the Cyprus executive Council. He estimated the 1956 revenue at £12,775,000 and expenditures at £12,000,182, including £2,283,875 for combating terrorism. He stated that despite this cost there would be no increase in taxes for 1956.

*Mar. 30:* The 14 AKEL (Greek Communist Party of Cyprus) members arrested December 14 were freed.

The fine of £1,500 imposed on Phrenaros village after the killing of two British soldiers on March 27 was lifted.

*Apr. 1:* Limassol and Nicosia were placed under a curfew, on this the first anniversary of the outbreak of organized terroristic activities by EOKA.

A British civilian was killed in Limassol—the first Briton killed who was not a member of the military or security forces.

*Apr. 2:* British authorities closed two schools in Paphos and imposed a curfew on the business district of Limassol for the second time in 2 days.

A large terrorist arms cache was discovered in Polis.

In Athens, King Paul of Greece predicted in the Speech from the Throne that "the cause of freedom and democracy in Cyprus would eventually triumph."

The Association of Building and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen suggested at its Margate conference that the Government withdraw all troops from Cyprus.

*Apr. 3:* The British Foreign Office announced in London that broadcasts to Cyprus from the Saloniaka radio station operated by the U. S. Information Agency had ceased following British complaints to the U. S. that the station was laying inflammatory propaganda to Cyprus.

Two British intelligence officers went on trial at Kykko military camp, near Nicosia, in a court martial, charged with assaulting prisoners and conspiracy in trying to threaten and bribe prisoners to change testimony. The chief witness against them was Christos Constantinou, described by defense counsel as the head of EOKA in the village of Lefka.

*Apr. 5:* British Governor Sir John Harding said that any plan for drawing up a peace conference would have to wait until the hard core of terrorism in the mountains had been cleaned out.

*Apr. 7:* The two British officers on trial for assaulting prisoners were sentenced by a court-martial to be discharged from the Army.

A Greek Cypriote was killed by a masked terrorist in Platanistassa.

*Apr. 9:* Security authorities in Nicosia revealed the contents of a letter signed "Dighenis" (the supposed EOKA leader) authorizing the setting of time bombs at the Nicosia international airport. The revelation followed the killing of an airport employee by 3 masked men.

*Apr. 10:* The Royal Air Force took over the operation of Nicosia airport.

*Apr. 11:* A British Army sergeant was killed in an ambush in Kalopsidha, west of Famagusta.

*Apr. 12:* Masked gunmen killed a Greek Cypriote in Akanthou, on the North coast.

*Apr. 13:* Kalopsidha was fined £2,800 as the result of the murder of a British sergeant in ambush on April 11. The villagers also were ordered to paint over all EOKA signs on the walls of the village.

*Apr. 15:* Following the murder of Nicosia Assistant Police Chief Aristotelou on April 15, Governor Harding imposed a week-long curfew as "a mark of public abhorrence." All coffeehouses and places of entertainment owned by Greek Cypriotes were to be closed until April 24, and no permits issued for sports events. Establishments owned by British or Turkish Cypriotes were exempt from the ban.

Two time-bombs exploded on the U. S.-owned Cyprus Mines Corporation at Xeros. There was no damage.

Sir Anthony Eden said in London that there would be no further negotiations over Cyprus until the restoration of law and order.

*Apr. 19:* Three gunmen murdered a Greek Cypriote in Limassol.

An editorial in the newspaper *Ethnos*, by Vias Markides, a leading member of the Ethnarchy Council, demanded that Greek Foreign Minister Spyros Theotokis be removed from the Athens Cabinet.

*Apr. 20:* New restrictions were clamped on Limassol. All public places managed by Greek Cypriotes were put under a curfew.

Ezekias Papaionnou, leader of the Reformed Workers Party, the Communist Party of Cyprus, escaped from Nicosia General Hospital.

*Apr. 21:* British forces launched a major offensive against rebels hiding in the mountainous north coast of Cyprus.

*Apr. 22:* Three British soldiers were wounded in an ambush near Limassol.

*Apr. 23:* Two Turkish Cypriotes, one a policeman, were killed by terrorists and several Greek Cypriotes were wounded in Nicosia.

*Apr. 24:* The Greek Cabinet gave solid support to Foreign Minister Spyros Theotokis against the Greek Orthodox Clergy's demand that he resign over the Cyprus issue.

*Apr. 25:* Two Cypriotes were wounded when a homemade bomb was thrown at a British army vehicle.

*Apr. 26:* The Greek mayor of Nicosia, Themistocles Dervis, demanded that Britain take action against

"anarchistic Turkish elements" which had done considerable damage to Greek Cypriote shops in Nicosia in two days rioting.

*Apr. 27:* A Cyprus Airways Dakota passenger plane was burned out following an explosion in the line's maintenance hangar. The hangar, near the Nicosia civil airport, was not included in the area taken over by the Royal Air Force as a security precaution.

*May 3:* British authorities on Cyprus offered a reward equaling \$28,000 for information leading to the arrest of Colonel George Grivas, presumed leader of EOKA.

*May 4:* Operations by security forces in the Lefkara area of Larnaca district resulted in the arrest of 23 Cypriotes and the seizure of an arms cache.

*May 5:* Exiled Archbishop Makarios sent a message to be read in all Cypriote Orthodox churches on May 6.

*May 8:* British Governor Harding announced he would not reprieve 2 Greek Cypriotes sentenced to death for political murders.

*May 9:* Riots in Athens expressing sympathy for 2 Cypriotes sentenced to death caused 3 deaths. One hundred twenty-four persons were injured and windows smashed in the U. S. Information Service offices.

*May 10:* Greek Cypriotes Michael Karaolis and Andreas Demetrious, condemned to death for political crimes, were hanged at 3 a.m. Karaolis was convicted of the murder of a Greek Cypriote policeman in November, 1955, Demetrious for the attempted murder of a British civilian.

Greeks throughout Cyprus went on strike in protest.

U. S. State Department press spokesman Lincoln White confirmed that Secretary of State Dulles had personally asked British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd to delay the execution of the two Cypriotes.

*May 11:* Leaflets scattered in Nicosia, purportedly by EOKA members, claimed that 2 British soldiers missing from their units were hanged by EOKA in reprisal for the hanging of 2 Greek Cypriotes on May 10. The 2 soldiers were Corporals Ronnie Shilton and Gordon Hill.

*May 12:* The Cretan newspaper *Kirix* suggested that the U. S. Sixth Fleet cancel a scheduled visit to Suda Bay because of bitterness over the British execution of 2 Cypriotes on May 10.

EOKA leaflets distributed in Nicosia urged Cypriotes to assassinate Governor Harding. In Athens, U. S. Sixth fleet units were reported to have canceled a projected visit to Crete at the request of Greek Premier Karamanlis.

*May 14:* A Labor Party motion to condemn British Government policy in Cyprus as "sterile" was defeated, 314 to 236, after Foreign Secretary Lennox-Boyd had pointed out that the Labor Govern-

ment in 1951 had refused Greek Cypriote demands for enosis.

The British director of Cyprus Airways was killed near Monarga, 16 miles north of Famagusta. One Cypriote was killed at Polis during a routine check by British security forces.

*May 15:* Leaflets distributed in Nicosia and signed "Dighenis" called upon Communists to leave the party and join EOKA. The leaflets told members of AKEL that time would prove AKEL as serving the interests of Satan and not the Cypriote people.

A Royal Air Force corporal was shot at Nicosia airport. Three Cypriotes were seized.

*May 17:* One British soldier was killed and another wounded in a bomb attack on a patrol vehicle in Famagusta. It was the 91st killing since the start of the 14-month old terrorism campaign.

The West German and Greek Foreign Ministers issued a joint communique stating that the Cyprus issue and the unification of Germany were questions on which both countries were in mutual agreement. Foreign Minister Brentano and President Heuss of West Germany were on a state visit to Greece.

*May 18:* British authorities banned all shipping in territorial waters between Latzi and Karavostasi, as a precautionary measure to prevent smuggling of men and arms into the northwest mountains. The only exceptions allowed were ore ships loading at the American-owned Cyprus Mines Corporation's Xeros depot and the Cyprus Sulphur and Copper Mine Company loading terminal at Limni.

Bishop Anthimos, acting head of the Cyprus Ethnarchy, replied favorably to the British proposal to register all priests and monks, but said his responsibility would end once he had given the British his diocese list.

British troops detained for questioning Andreas Savides, nephew of Colonel George Grivas, reputed head of EOKA.

*May 20:* The British closed and padlocked the building housing the Paphos bishopric after discovery of an arms cache there. It was the first actual seizure of Church property under emergency regulations.

*May 21:* News of a hunger strike by Archbishop Makarios and three other Cypriotes detained in the Seychelles Islands was disclosed by British authorities in London after publication of a letter in the *East African Standard*, a native newspaper in Nairobi, Kenya, listing such complaints by the exiles as non-receipt of mail and lack of opportunity to refute criticisms of them. The strike took place two weeks previous to the announcement and was cleared up "in a day or two" after conversations between Makarios and Governor Sir William Addis concerning the treatment of the exiles.

A group of 200 Cypriote schoolgirls routed British teen-age conscripts in a demonstration in Nicosia.

Foreign Secretary Lloyd reaffirmed the British Government's policy of force if necessary to retain Cyprus. He called the island vital to Britain.

**May 23:** New regulations required individuals in 73 mountain villages in the Troodos Mountains to register and all over 12 years of age to carry identity cards. Prison terms were announced for all those failing to register or giving false information. Another decree called for the removal of all slogans praising either EOKA or AKEL from public and private buildings.

**May 24-25:** Clashes on two successive days took place between Turkish and Greek Cypriote factions. A Turkish Cypriote policeman was killed in Polis and seven Turks and six Greeks wounded in Lornaca.

The British Cunard liner *Caronia* was rerouted to stop at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, instead of Athens, on May 26.

The Greek Parliament rejected an Opposition motion for censuring its Cyprus policy by a vote of 162 to 126.

**May 27:** A fourth Turkish Cypriote policeman was killed at Paphos in a bombing, but strict curfews prevented further outbreaks of communal strife. In Nicosia, 150 persons were removed from their homes and stores and the buildings boarded up in penalty for the triple bombing of May 21 which killed a British soldier and wounded 12 other persons.

**May 28:** Permanent wire barriers were placed down Hermes Street in Nicosia, which divides the Greek and Turkish sections. British District Commissioner Clemens informed Dr. Fazil Küçük, leader of the Turkish community, that he was considering a collective fine on the Turks for damage amounting to £4,500 done to Greek shops. A collective fine of £6,000 was also levied on the villages of Kato Zodhia and Pano Zodhia in northwest Cyprus, for attacks on security forces.

Greece accused Britain before the Council of Europe's Commission on Human Rights of violating its convention in the Cyprus issue. Former Minister of Agriculture Evangelos Averoff became Foreign Minister in place of Spyros Theotokis, who resigned on May 27. He stated he would continue to use all appropriate means to achieve freedom for the Cypriote people.

**May 30:** Scotland Yard officials extended their search for 2 Cypriote gunmen reported to have slipped into England with orders to attack government leaders and members of the royal family.

The Colonial Office denied published reports of an international plot to rescue Archbishop Makarios which stated that the rescue ship had been wrecked off Madagascar.

Two British soldiers were killed when a Cy-

priote threw a bomb into a truck returning from a dress rehearsal of Queen Elizabeth's birthday celebration at Famagusta. Twenty others were injured.

**May 31:** British military and civil security forces celebrated the Queen's birthday despite threats of assassination of Governor Harding.

## Egypt

(See also General, Israel, Libya, Palestine Problem, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen)

1956

**Mar. 1:** British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd arrived in Cairo for talks with Premier Nasir on future Anglo-Egyptian relations.

Egypt signed a contract with Communist China to import 5000 tons of cottonseed oil.

**Mar. 4:** An Egyptian trade delegation headed by Hasan Ibrahim, Minister of National Production, arrived in Prague to visit Czech industries.

**Mar. 7:** British Prime Minister Eden warned Egypt in the House of Commons that she could not combine pretenses of friendship with hostile attacks and still remain on good terms with the West.

**Mar. 9:** Egypt concluded a trade transaction with North Vietnam for the exchange of up to \$5,000,000 in Egyptian cotton for Vietnamese coal and cement in unspecified amounts. The agreement was reached between representatives of both countries at the Leipzig Fair, East Germany.

**Mar. 11:** A consignment of 7500 tons of Russian wheat arrived in Alexandria.

**Mar. 14:** The Cabinet announced it would float a new production loan of LE 25,000,000, divided into a 5-year loan of LE 5,000,000 at 2½% and a 15-year loan of LE 20,000,000 at 3½%.

France and Egypt began talks in Cairo on Egyptian support of nationalist rebels in North Africa. France accused Egypt of supplying arms to the rebels. Foreign Minister Pineau represented France in the talks.

**Mar. 17:** Egypt signed a trade agreement with Bulgaria.

**Mar. 20:** Egypt signed an agreement with Afghanistan providing for cultural exchanges between the two countries.

**Mar. 24:** Egypt admitted that some of her army officers were receiving training in Poland. She did not specify the type of training.

**Mar. 27:** The appointment was announced of Kamal Ramzi Estino, a Copt, as Minister of Supply in the Cabinet.

**Mar. 31:** The last major British military units left Port Said.

**Apr. 1:** Premier Nasir said he had not rejected a Soviet offer of aid on the High Aswan Dam project. He added that he had become worried

by reports that British M.P.'s were urging Britain to renounce its offer of aid toward construction of the Dam in retaliation for Egypt's increasingly anti-British policy.

*Apr. 3:* Hungary offered to participate in the High Dam project to the extent of supplying machinery and building roads.

*Apr. 9:* Col. Anwar Sadat, Egyptian Minister of War, writing in the Government-controlled newspaper *Al-Gumhuriyyah* blamed the Western Big Three for the recent increase in tension in the Middle East. He accused them of wanting only to take revenge on Premier Nasir.

*Apr. 14:* Abu Sueir, last British-controlled Suez base, was vacated by Britain.

*Apr. 15:* Egypt signed a cultural treaty with Communist China.

*Apr. 17:* The Greek Government granted permission to an undisclosed number of French and Czech fighter aircraft with Egyptian markings to fly over Greece and refuel if necessary while en route to Egypt.

*Apr. 19:* The Egyptian Navy received 19 Czech motor torpedo boats.

*Apr. 22:* The pilot of a U. S. military transport plane forced down by Egyptian jet fighters denied that the plane was flying over a prohibited military area at the time. The plane was carrying members of the U. S. military mission to Iran on a tourist flight to Cairo.

*Apr. 25:* Britain rejected the demands of Opposition members of Parliament that it withhold financial aid for the High Aswan Dam project until Egypt dropped her anti-British policy entirely.

A 5-year program costing \$8,000,000 for the Productivity and Vocational Training Center was described by Dr. 'Aziz Sidqi, Director of the Center. He said the program would set up vocational training centers in the major industrial cities to train skilled workers, graduating 30,000 foremen within 4 years to meet the needs of local factories.

*Apr. 28:* Alexandria dock workers who struck for higher pay on Apr. 27 returned to work after receiving an increase of 7½ piastras a day to a total of 40 piastras a day (about \$1.12).

An undisclosed number of Soviet minesweepers were delivered to Egypt.

Foreign Minister Mahmud Fawzi signed the Arab Broadcasts Agreement, aiming at a coordinated policy for Arab broadcasts to strengthen Arab ties and inform listeners of the Arab viewpoint.

*May 2:* An agreement was reached between Egypt and the Suez Canal Company whereby the Company would invest \$60,000,000 of its reserves in Egyptian development projects.

A contract was signed to form a pasteurized

milk company to supply 100 tons of milk daily to Cairo schools, hospitals, etc.

*May 6:* A joint Egyptian-Jordanian communique announced agreement on plans to coordinate and unify the armies of the two states. The new agreement was described as differing from the one between Egypt and Syria in that it did not provide for a unified command or full military cooperation.

*May 9:* Sudanese Minister of Communications Sayid Hammad Tawfiq ended a visit to Cairo with the statement that relations between Egypt and the Sudan were entering a new phase of mutual cooperation. He said that the progress of talks between Sudanese delegations and Egypt on the questions of currency and the Nile waters heralded favorable settlements in both cases. (Ed. note: The Sudan wishes to free its currency from dependence on the Egyptian pound, to which it is presently tied.)

*May 16:* Egypt announced recognition of Communist China, on the basis that the Communist Government truly represented 600 million Chinese, including 50 million Muslims, that it had joined the Bandoeng Conference of 1954 and subscribed to the intentions of that Conference, and that 23 other nations had already recognized Communist China.

*May 19:* Ibrahim 'Izzat, an Egyptian reporter, completed a 5-day tour of Israel under the guise of a Brazilian journalist. He reported to Premier Nasir that Israeli Premier Ben Gurion, Foreign Minister Sharett, and Labor Minister Myerson had separately expressed willingness to meet Nasir "anywhere, anytime" to discuss Arab-Israeli frictions.

*May 22:* U. S. Secretary of State Dulles called Egyptian recognition of Communist China "a regrettable action." He said it was unlikely that the U. S. would help Egypt on the High Aswan Dam if the USSR had a share in the project.

The Soviet Ambassador to Egypt presented Premier Nasir with an Ilyushin-14 aircraft as "a token of Soviet-Egyptian friendship".

*May 23:* Iran complained about what it called the unfriendly attitude of the Egyptian press in reporting an alleged coup d'état in Iran.

*May 26:* Premier Nasir conferred with British Ambassador Trevelyan for the first time since Mar. 16, in an apparent effort to restore good relations.

The British tanker *Verenia* was blacklisted in Alexandria after a report that she had taken oil to Israel.

*May 27:* An Egyptian health delegation arrived in East Berlin to tour hospitals and medical installations in East Germany.

*May 28:* Egypt said the Arab states would accept any resolution adopted by the UN Security Council regarding the Palestine ceasefire so long as it

did not contradict the terms of the Arab-Israeli armistice agreement.

*May 29:* A Rumanian economic delegation arrived in Cairo to discuss economic relations and negotiate the exchange of Egyptian cotton for oil.

## Ethiopia

(See also Sudan)

1956

*Mar. 5:* Italy agreed to pay Ethiopia \$16,300,000 in reparations for damages during the Italian occupation of the country. Italy agreed to build a hydroelectric power station southeast of Addis Ababa, return historical objects, and provide additional reparations in the form of ships, marine equipments, cotton textile factories, and public works.

*May 5:* Emperor Haile Selassie received the head of a Chinese Communist cultural delegation touring Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa. The head of the delegation presented gifts to the Emperor on behalf of Mao Tse-tung.

## India

(See also General, Algeria, Iran, Pakistan)

1956

*Mar. 1:* A survey team of Russian mining and technical education experts completed their minerals survey begun in November, 1955.

*Mar. 2:* About 10 Portuguese troops were killed in clashes with Goan nationalists over the previous three-week period.

*Mar. 3:* British Foreign Secretary Lloyd arrived in New Delhi for talks with Prime Minister Nehru. He said that both the Baghdad Pact and SEATO were alliances consistent with the UN Charter.

India rejected Pakistan's claim to Chhad Bet, a strip of marshy land in the Rann of Cutch, on the Arabian Sea.

*Mar. 5:* Prime Minister Nehru said in Nizambad that the Government had decided in principle on the merger of Telengana and Andhra in one state.

*Mar. 10:* U. S. Secretary of State Dulles assured India she would get U. S. aid in the event of a Pakistani attack. He stressed the fact that U. S. military aid to Pakistan was not intended as a threat to India but was stipulated solely for defensive purposes.

*Mar. 16:* The Indian Government sent its proposed legislation for redrawing state boundaries to the state legislatures. The legislation suggested the formation of regional councils to look after the interests of the Sikhs.

Nehru agreed to debate the Kashmir settle-

ment brought forward by a SEATO resolution, in the Indian Parliament.

*Mar. 19:* Indian and Pakistani forces clashed on the Punjab border. One Indian soldier was killed and 12 wounded.

Communist-led strikers in the textile industry fought with police in a battle that left 40 injured.

*Mar. 20:* Nehru denounced the West's system of military alliances as a threat to peace.

*Mar. 23:* Indian and Pakistani leaders joined in New Delhi in a celebration of the birth of the Pakistan Republic.

*Mar. 24:* The Punjab Assembly approved the States Reorganization Bill.

*Mar. 26:* Soviet Minister of Trade Anastas Mikoyan arrived in New Delhi coincident with *Holi*, the Indian festival welcoming spring.

*Apr. 1:* British reports in London said that India had placed a multimillion dollar order for British jets, bombers, tanks, and other weapons, after rejecting a cut-price offer of Soviet arms.

*Apr. 2:* Nehru rejected the idea of a Kashmir plebiscite to determine the future of the province on grounds that U. S. military aid to Pakistan and constitutional developments in India and Kashmir had made the basis of the dispute entirely different.

*Apr. 3:* Poland and India signed an agreement to exchange technical missions and provide training facilities.

*Apr. 7:* After 9 days of debate, the Bombay State legislature approved by 148 to 25 the Government's states reorganization plan. The bill would cut Bombay State into 2 linguistic states, Maharashtra and Gujarati, and put Bombay City under central Government administration. 72 Maharashtrian deputies abstained.

India announced a 2-year ban on foreign plane flights over Indian territory to Goa direct or to other Portuguese possessions.

*Apr. 9:* The Indian Government announced it would nationalize the mining of diamonds, in hopes of raising the diamond output by 30-40%.

*Apr. 11:* India and Poland signed a 3-year trade agreement. India agreed to buy 300,000 tons of iron and steel products and 100,000 tons of cement from Poland, and to supply Poland with 300,000 tons of iron ore.

Indian engineers began work on a \$28,000,000 bridge across the Ganges at Mokameh, Bihar State.

*Apr. 12:* The Press (Objectionable Matter) Law adopted by the Government in 1951 to empower prosecution of newspapers publishing material regarded as "objectionable", and thus limiting freedom of the press through confiscation and heavy fines, was allowed to lapse.

*Apr. 13:* Prime Minister Nehru announced his willingness to consider the partition of Kashmir

along the basis of the present ceasefire line. He said that Kashmir constituted a part of India, and that he had told Pakistan her troops had no right to occupy part of that state. He declared that his plan represented the farthest possible limit to which he would go to end the Kashmir dispute.

*Apr. 14:* Walter Reuther, visiting India at the invitation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, supported India's economic policies and disagreed with U. S. foreign policy on Goa, in various speeches.

*Apr. 20:* India became the 20th member of the International Finance Corporation of the IBRD.  
*Apr. 21:* A 4-day strike by 3000 dock workers at the naval dockyards in Bombay was called off by the Dockyard Employees after a government appeal for arbitration of grievances.

*Apr. 24:* Police arrested 15 Maharashtrians demonstrating outside of Parliament House in New Delhi to demand the inclusion of Bombay City in the proposed Maharashtrian State.

*Apr. 26:* India's first newsprint factory opened in Madhya Pradesh state.

*Apr. 27:* A 41,400 kw power station on the Sarda Canal was opened at Khatima, Naini Tal District, Uttar Pradesh state.

*Apr. 28:* Canada and India signed an agreement by which Canada would build a \$14,000,000 atomic reactor at Trombay, near Bombay. The agreement was the result of a year's negotiations. Canada agreed to contribute \$7,500,000, while India would bear construction costs amounting in rupees to about \$6,500,000.

*Apr. 29:* The Indian Communist Party ended its fourth congress with adoption of a policy of support for the Nehru government, while striving to build up a united front with all other opposition groups. Ajoy Ghosh was reelected party secretary.

*Apr. 30:* Prime Minister Nehru announced a policy of increasing government control of industry. He indicated 3 categories of industries, one completely state-owned, another "progressively state-owned", and a third left entirely to private enterprise. Examples of the 3 types of industries he gave were arms, atomic energy, mining (first), machine tools, drugs, transport (second).

*May 4:* Nehru said he favored the U. S. proposal to establish an atomic research center in the Philippines.

The lower house of Parliament approved a bill giving newspapers freedom to publish any defamatory speeches made in either house.

*May 8:* Talks began in New Delhi between Indian and Pakistani officials on financial issues outstanding since the 1947 partition.

*May 16:* A cholera outbreak was reported in Calcutta, causing 6 deaths.

*May 18:* A Parliament resolution calling for a ceil-

ing on private incomes of \$5000 a year in rupees, and \$4500 a year in rupees for Government workers, was withdrawn after a speech by Prime Minister Nehru in which he said that ceilings would upset the machinery of national production at a time when increased national production was India's prime need.

The Indian Communist Party issued a statement supporting India's second 5-year plan, but calling it too soft on private enterprise.

*May 22:* Nehru called for a ceasefire in Algeria based on 5 suggestions: 1) formal declarations by both sides of the necessity for ending violence; 2) French recognition of the national entity of Algeria; 3) recognition of the equality of all peoples in Algeria; 4) guarantees that Algeria be considered the homeland of all the people there, and that they be granted equal shares in the benefits of national freedom; 5) that direct negotiations be begun on the basis of the first 4 ideas and under the principles of the UN Charter.

*May 23:* The Government denounced a series of strikes on India's state-controlled railways.

*May 25:* India announced she would seek loans from private European investors to finance her second 5-year program.

*May 26:* Striking workers wrecked a train at Kharagpur; 55 were injured.

*May 28:* France relinquished sovereignty over her Indian possessions of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé and Yanam in a treaty with India supplementing the agreement of 1954 transferring them to Indian control.

*May 29:* Four railroad workers were killed in a demonstration at Kalka.

*May 31:* The Government blamed the Communists for the railroad riots.

## Iran

(See also Turkey)

1956

*Mar. 4:* Soviet Charge d'Affaires Lazarov was given a note stipulating that Military Attaché Major Kuznetsov depart from Iran within a week.

*Mar. 5:* The Shah sent a telegram to the Premier ordering implementation of the 7-year plan, which has already been passed by both Houses.

*Mar. 8:* Soviet Assistant Military Attaché Kuznetsov, accused by Iran of spying for the USSR, left the country.

*Mar. 17:* U. S. narcotics agents working with Iranian police seized a secret heroin laboratory in Tehran.

*Mar. 19:* A Turkish economic delegation visited Tehran to discuss barter agreements.

*Mar. 14:* More than 25 members of the outlawed Tudeh (Communist) Party were announced as

having been apprehended by the Iran Military Government.

*Mar. 19:* Dr. Shayegan, a Minister in the Mossadegh Cabinet, and 50 members of the Tudeh Party were pardoned by the Shah.

*Mar. 26:* Development and Resources Corporation, an American firm headed by David Lilienthal and Gordon Clapp, signed a 5-year agreement with the Iranian Plan Organization to develop the resources of Khuzistan Province in southern Iran.

*Apr. 8:* Iran announced she intended to press her claim to Bahrain Island by "amicable and direct negotiation with Britain."

*Apr. 14:* The U. S. General Accounting Office sent a report to Congress describing irregularities in the administration of U. S. aid to Iran. The report was actually filed Mar. 15 but not released at that time. Among deficiencies cited, the report listed a water treatment plant built in Tehran which could not be used because the city's water distribution system used open gutters.

*Apr. 16:* The report of misuse of U. S. aid funds to Iran was characterized as misleading by ICA officers in Tehran. They said the report covered 4 fiscal years of operation during the period of "crash" or emergency operations designed to save Iran from Communist domination after the shutdown of oil operations, and that this massive aid program inevitably bred mistakes. The Tehran water system report was branded incorrect.

*Apr. 20:* The director of ICA's mission to Iran said that the Iranian government would take over the direction of the U. S. foreign aid program there and that the transfer would be completed by June, 1956.

*Apr. 22:* U. S. and Iranian medical authorities began a campaign to wipe out smallpox by wholesale vaccination of nomadic tribes. The campaign was directed chiefly at the Bakhtiari and Qashqai tribes.

*Apr. 26:* Premier Ala denied reports he would resign, but said he would continue in office until the beginning of the 19th legislative term, at which time the Government would resign and the Shah designate a new Premier.

*Apr. 29:* Iran received 2 jets from the U. S., the first jet planes received by the Iranian Air Force.

Announcement of a 7-year development program costing \$1 billion was made by Abol Hasan Ebtehaj, head of the 7-year plan organization. It was described as a revision of a plan made in 1948, and would be financed through oil revenues.

*May 23:* Iran told India in a memorandum that the Baghdad Pact powers had a right to discuss anything about the Kashmir question which might violate international peace. The memorandum was in reply to an Indian protest of Apr. 27 against a statement made by the Baghdad

Pact countries at their April meeting in Tehran urging early settlement of the dispute.

*May 29:* The Shah returned from a state visit to Turkey.

*May 31:* The Shah opened the Majlis (Parliament) with a speech emphasizing 3 national obligations, a strengthening of the armed forces, rapid execution of the economic rehabilitation program, and increased oil revenue. He outlined the Government's legislative program for the next two years.

## Iraq

(See also Algeria, Jordan)

*Mar. 4:* King Faysal pardoned Muhammad Ali 'Isa, an Egyptian Embassy messenger in Baghdad accused of spying and imprisoned.

*Mar. 8:* A Turkish parliamentary mission led by the speaker of the Grand National Assembly arrived in Iraq.

*Mar. 31:* Parliament ratified legislation for the first state university in Iraq.

*Apr. 2:* King Faysal inaugurated the Wadi Tharthar Dam and flood-control complex on the Tigris River at Samarra.

*Apr. 3:* Sa'id Qazzaz, Minister of Interior, said that Communist penetration of Iraq seemed to be directed from Syria.

*Apr. 7:* Iraq Minister of Development Dhia Ja'far said that Iraq would increase her oil-financed public works program from 304,000,000 dinars to 416,000,000 dinars (about \$1,165,000). Greater emphasis would be put on "impact" projects—those which would bring immediate benefits to the Iraqis. During the previous week, called "Public Works Week", King Faysal dedicated a second flood control dam, over the Euphrates at Ramadi, and 2 highway bridges over the Eu-phrates at Hindiya and Kufa below Baghdad.

Royal Air Force units moved out of Habbaniya and Shu'aiba, former British bases in Iraq, in accordance with the Iraqi-British agreement of April 4, 1955.

*Apr. 13:* The Wadi Tharthar flood control scheme to protect Baghdad from spring floods was described by Minister of Agriculture Shalabi as having saved the city.

*May 2:* King Faysal opened Baghdad's television station, first in the Middle East.

*May 18:* King Faysal arrived in Madrid for a state visit to Spain.

*May 23:* Parliament approved the second phase of the \$1,400,000,000 development plan for Iraq.

*May 26:* Dr. Nadhim al-Pachachi, Minister of Economy, said that Iraq's oil royalties in 1956 would amount to 80,000,000 dinars.

*May 27:* King Faysal paid an official visit to Sultan Mohammed V of Morocco, then flew to Paris.

*May 30:* The Chamber of Deputies passed the new income-tax bill.

## Israel

(See also Palestine Problem)

*Mar. 4:* Rabbi Yehuda Halberstam, the "wonder Rabbi" of Klausenburg, Hungary and a leader of the mystic Hasidim sect in Judaism, arrived in Israel to begin construction of a new home for his 20,000-30,000 followers at Natanya.

*Mar. 5:* Protest meetings were held in Haifa and Tel Aviv against the visits of American ships to Israeli ports.

*Mar. 6:* The Israeli Government received a vote of confidence from the Knesset after Premier Ben-Gurion told the members that Israel would not start a war with the Arabs.

*Mar. 8:* Oil drillers in the Negev struck a second layer of oil in the Heletz area.

*Mar. 16:* Canada approved the shipment of 3 categories of arms—shells, electronic equipment, and spare parts for Sherman tanks—to Israel.

*Mar. 18:* Premier Ben-Gurion forecast an attack on Israel by the Arab states within the next few months. He said this would be almost certain unless Israel could obtain sufficient arms in the immediate future.

*Mar. 20:* Israel and Finland signed a trade agreement.

*Mar. 22:* The Knesset approved the budget for the fiscal year beginning April 1. The amount approved was 769,300,000 Israeli pounds (\$307,720,000).

*Mar. 24:* The first test operation of the new Haifa ammonia plant was a success.

*Mar. 29:* A 42-mile rail link from Beersheba in the Negev to the rest of the Israel rail system was formally inaugurated.

*Apr. 4:* Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett discussed Israel's security position vis-a-vis the Arab countries with U. S. Ambassador Lawson at Tel Aviv, and expressed dismay over President Eisenhower's continued refusal to send arms to Israel.

*Apr. 11:* Israel charged several European governments with an economic boycott against her, but did not identify them. She claimed that European firms doing business in Israel were advised by their governments to submit to illegal practices designed to hurt Israel's economy.

*Apr. 14:* Israel received 8 Mystère jet fighter planes from France.

*Apr. 16:* The annual Independence Day parade in Israel emphasized soldiers over weapons, although French Ouragan jet planes were displayed. The display of weapons was smaller than in previous years.

*Apr. 20:* Premier Ben-Gurion told UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld that Israel intended to resume at her discretion work on the Jordan Valley irrigation project.

*Apr. 25:* A bitter dispute between right and left wing extremists over the expulsion or disciplin-

ing of the extreme right-wing Herut party paralyzed the World Zionist Congress meeting in Jerusalem.

*May 2:* Israel released a KLM (Royal Dutch Airlines) plane intercepted on May 1 and allowed it to proceed to Cairo. The plane, used for aerial mapping, was flying under charter to the Egyptian Government.

*May 3:* UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld cautioned Israel against resuming the Jordan River irrigation project. He said resumption would not be compatible with the 1953 Security Council resolution telling Israel to suspend the work.

*May 6:* The World Zionist Congress was deadlocked on whether to praise or denounce the USSR.

*May 7:* The World Zionist Congress adopted a closing series of resolutions condemning the right-wing faction in Israel for favoring war with the Arab states, and denouncing the Arab economic boycott of Israel as a violation of the principles of the UN.

A plan was announced in Burma whereby one million acres of land in Burma would be put under wheat cultivation for Israel.

*May 8:* Israel asked the Export-Import Bank for a loan of \$75,000,000.

*May 11:* The Mayor of Haifa announced the closing of the industrial exhibition there on Saturday, May 12, as a result of strong religious pressure by Jews as being a desecration of the Sabbath.

*May 12:* Czechoslovakia released Mordecai Oren, an Israeli citizen and leader of the Mapam (Left Socialist) Party, who was convicted as a spy in 1952 after testifying at the trial of Rudolf Slansky. He had been visiting Prague as a guest of Czech trade unions. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. The announcement said he would be expelled at once.

France said it would deliver 12 Mystère jets to Israel as a last delivery under a contract previously agreed upon.

*May 18:* The U. S. State Department disclosed that a shipment of Army surplus half-track vehicles ordered by Israel had been barred from shipment after customs authorities discovered they were completely assembled, while the export license had been for half-track spare parts.

*May 19:* Israel said she would not protest the U. S. ban on shipment of the half-tracks, but would reorder spare parts worth \$150,000 from the dealer.

*May 21:* Premier Ben-Gurion confirmed the statement made by Egyptian reporter Ibrahim 'Izzat that he was ready to meet Premier Nasir "anytime, anywhere". He added, however, that no more Egyptian journalists would be invited to visit Israel unless Israeli journalists were permitted to visit Cairo.

May 29: The Israeli ship *Yurushalayim* arrived in Haifa with 1000 immigrants.

## Jordan

(See also General, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine Problem, Syria)

1956

Mar. 1: Trade talks between Jordan and Yugoslavia ended with an agreement by Yugoslavia to import olive oil, tobacco, phosphates, and other Jordanian agricultural and industrial products. The agreement replaced one concluded in 1954.

Mar. 2: King Husayn issued a royal decree relieving Lt. Gen. John Bagot Glubb of his command of the Arab Legion. The decree also terminated the services of 3 other high-ranking British officers of the Legion. It named Brig. Gen. Radi Innab as the new commander of the Legion.

Demonstrators paraded in Amman denouncing all British influence.

Mar. 3: Jordan said she would respect the 1948 treaty with Britain. Public explanation of Glubb's ouster was that he had defied a royal demand to reorganize the Legion to meet the danger of an Israeli attack.

Mar. 5: Amman quieted down after 3 days of demonstrations of joy over the ouster of Gen. Glubb. Jordanian Premier Samir al-Rifa'i defended the King's ouster of Glubb as a purely internal matter.

Mar. 8: The new Chief of Staff of the Arab Legion, Maj. Gen. Radi Innab, denied reports of disagreement among Arab officers of the Legion.

Mar. 13: King Husayn said his country had no aggressive intentions toward Israel. He said he planned no change in his present foreign policy.

Mar. 15: The Jordanian Cabinet dissolved the municipal council of Ramallah, and replaced it with a new council presided over by the district officer.

Mar. 16: Nearly \$1,000,000 (300,000 dinars) was collected during the week in voluntary contributions for funds for the National Guard militia, a force organized to supplement the Arab Legion in the event of war.

Mar. 24: An agreement was reported between Jordan and Syria uniting the frontiers of the 2 countries.

Apr. 3: Changes were announced in Cabinet Ministry posts. Samir al-Rifa'i became Prime Minister only. Falah Madadha was made Defense and Interior Minister. The Department of Customs was attached to the Ministry of Finance. The Press and Publicity Bureau and State Tourism Department were attached to the Foreign Ministry under Husayn Khalidi.

Mar. 31: A Nationalist Chinese trade delegation visited Jordan. The leader said Nationalist China was ready to buy Jordanian phosphate.

Apr. 9: King Husayn arrived in Damascus for political discussions with Syrian president Shukri al-Quwwati.

Apr. 16: Negotiations between Britain and Jordan on the future status of the Arab Legion's British officers ended with the agreement that Britain would continue to lend officers for training and technical duties until Jordanian officers were available to replace them.

Apr. 24: King Husayn said in an interview that the Palestine question was Jordan's main problem and "a matter of life and death."

Apr. 25: The Jordan Press and Publicity Bureau denied published reports from Nablus that Jordanian authorities had closed the town and village planning offices on the western bank of the Jordan. It said that the civil service department was studying the requirements of these offices in terms of the new budget.

Apr. 26: Jordan announced the arrest of 6 officers of the Arab Legion "on personal grounds". No charges were disclosed for the arrest.

Apr. 30: The Jordan Government decided to carry out the Dead Sea potash scheme alone, since the other Arab states had expressed no interest.

May 1: A government decree required that imports from Poland, Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, come through the Jordan port of Aqaba in order to be licensed.

May 20: Premier Samir al-Rifa'i and his Cabinet resigned.

May 21: Sa'id al-Mufti was named Premier of Jordan and began forming a new cabinet.

May 22: The new Jordan Cabinet was formed as follows:

Sa'id al-Mufti—Prime Minister  
Fawzi al-Mufti—Vice-Prime Minister, Minister of Education, Foreign Minister

'Awni 'Abd al-Hadi—Minister of Health and Social Affairs  
Muhammad 'Ali al-Ajlani—Minister of Defense and Interior

Bishara Ghasib—Minister of Finance  
'Ali Hasra—Minister of Justice, Acting Minister of Agriculture

Sa'id Ala' al-Din—Minister of National Economy  
'Ali al-Hindawi—Minister of Public Works

Sam'an Da'ud—Minister of Reconstruction and Development  
Salih al-Majali—Minister of Communications

Rashad al-Khatib declined at the last minute to join the Cabinet. The National Socialist Party did not participate in the Cabinet.

New Prime Minister Sa'id al-Mufti said he would ask a revision of the defense treaty with Britain.

May 24: Lt. Col. Ali Abu Nuwar, an enemy of former Arab Legion commander Gen John Bagot

Glubb, was named commander of the Legion. He emphasized that Jordan wanted to retain her close ties with Britain and dismissed any suggestion that Jordan would abrogate the defense treaty.

**May 26:** Under a new program revealed by Defense Minister Muhammad 'Ali al-Ajlani, the Arab Legion would be merged with the Jordanian National Guard under the title of the Jordanian Army, and would lose its colorful uniforms and badges of rank.

**May 27:** Former Premier Samir al-Rifa'i accused King Husayn of leading Jordan on the road to solutions of problems by force, when moderation was needed.

**May 31:** Jordan and Syria announced a military agreement providing for a permanent body for military consultation and joint effort in case of war. The agreement came at the end of a 4-day visit to Jordan by Syrian president Shukri al-Quwwatli. Other agreements signed during the visit provided for citizens of each country to travel to the other without a passport, although they were required to carry official identity cards. A third agreement granted freedom of transit for truck from Lebanon across Syria to Jordan. Syria also agreed to contribute 62,500 Jordanian dinars (about \$175,000) to Jordan's project to produce potash from the Dead Sea.

## Lebanon

(See also General, Jordan, Syria)

1956

**Mar. 11:** Salim Lahhud, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that Lebanon was supporting Jordan in her efforts to organize a conference of the heads of the Arab states to settle their differences.

**Mar. 16:** Three earth tremors said to be the most serious in a quarter-century hit Beirut and nearby areas in Lebanon.

**Mar. 18:** The Government announced 192 persons dead, 500 injured, and nearly 10,000 homeless, in the earthquakes of Mar. 16. Damage was estimated at \$4,500,000.

**Mar. 20:** Premier 'Abdallah al-Yafi formed a new cabinet after 3 days of political maneuvering following the resignation of the previous cabinet on Mar. 15. Its members were:

'Abdallah al-Yafi—Premier, Minister of Interior  
Emile al-Bustani—Minister of Public Works  
Salim Lahhud—Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice

Majid Arslan—Minister of Defense  
George Karam—Minister of Finance  
Nazih al-Bizri—Minister of Health and Social Affairs

Joseph Skaf—Minister of Agriculture  
George Hakim—Minister of Economy and Education

Sa'ib Salam—Minister without Portfolio  
Muhammad Sabra—Minister of Information, Telegraph, Postal, and Telephone

**Mar. 29:** Premier al-Yafi won a vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies. The vote was 24 to 14, with 2 abstentions.

**Apr. 16:** Lebanese leaders pledged UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld that they would accept all proposals to reduce tension in the Middle East, providing such proposals would not prejudice a just Palestine settlement, violate any Arab sovereignty, and be within the scope of Arab-Israeli armistice agreements.

**Apr. 19:** Premier al-Yafi called the Soviet statement supporting UN efforts to obtain peace in the Middle East a victory for American diplomacy.

**May 4:** The April 30 edition of the *New York Times* was removed from newsstands by the police. No reason was given for the removal.

**May 5:** The USSR offered Lebanon the free services of engineers to rebuild the villages destroyed by the earthquakes of Mar. 16.

**May 8:** Business was paralyzed in Beirut because of a sympathy strike against French policy in North Africa. There was no violence.

**May 15:** King Husayn of Jordan ended a visit to Lebanon described as a holiday visit.

**May 21:** Lebanon and Jordan agreed to coordinate their defense plans and unite their forces in the event of war. A Jordanian military mission left Lebanon and returned to Jordan after talks leading to this agreement. The agreement was described as not involving either country in commitments to the other except in case of an emergency.

Charles Malik, a leading Lebanese statesman, said that the Western powers must find a sound policy toward the Arab countries or see them throw in their lot with the USSR.

**May 25:** Lebanon began trade talks with Nationalist China.

**May 31:** Premier al-Yafi's government won a vote of confidence by 14 to 6, with 7 abstentions. The government had asked for the vote after a motion by the opposition National Bloc censuring the government-controlled electricity company had been approved by the Chamber of Deputies.

## Libya

1956

**Mar. 14:** British Foreign Secretary Lloyd arrived in Tripoli for a brief talk with Premier bin Halim before flying on to Rome.

**Mar. 21:** Libya assured Egypt she would not permit the U. S. and Britain to use military bases for an attack on the Arab states in the event of a war with Israel.

**Mar. 26:** A new government was formed as follows:  
Mustafa bin Halim—Premier, Foreign Affairs  
Khalil al-Qallal—Minister of State

'Abd al-Rahman Qalhud—Education  
 'Ali al-Sahili—Justice  
 Salim al-Qadi—Communications  
 Muhammad bin 'Uthman—Health  
 Muhyi al-din Fikini—State  
 Isma'il bin al-Amin—Finance  
 Muftah Urayqib—Economy  
 'Ali Jawdah—Defense

*Mar. 30:* Parliament supported the rejection made by Premier bin Halim on Mar. 29 of Soviet offers of economic and technical aid.

*Apr. 4:* About 5000 Tripoli high school students, protesting French actions in Algeria and the sale of French jets to Israel, clashed with police.

*Apr. 6:* King Idris called for President Eisenhower's active intervention in North Africa, in a note to Ambassador Tappin.

Police broke up anti-French demonstrations in Tripoli.

*Apr. 7:* The government announced that the U. S. would give Libya \$5,000,000 in aid before June 30, an increase of \$2,000,000.

*Apr. 9:* Premier bin Halim attended the meeting of the Arab League in Cairo.

*May 22:* A shipment of U. S. military equipment arrived in Tripoli for the Libyan Army. It was the first of 3 shipments promised to Libya as part of a joint British-American arms grant to Libya totalling \$1,000,000.

*May 23:* Premier bin Halim said that 2 principal issues which could cause friction between Libya and Britain and the U. S. were the present Western attitudes toward Israel and Algeria.

*May 26:* Libya and Egypt signed new trade and payments agreements. The agreements would provide for easier methods of payment for exports, and exchange Egyptian foodstuffs for Libyan cattle. It would also establish a joint Chamber of Commerce in both countries to strengthen trade relations.

## MOROCCO

(See also Iraq)

1956

*Mar. 1:* Ahmad Balafrej, secretary general of the Istiqlal Party, said that between a week and 10 days would be needed before a ceasefire order sent to nationalists fighting the French in the Riff and northeastern Morocco reached all of them and stopped hostilities.

*Mar. 2:* France ended her protectorate over Morocco. A joint declaration issued by the French Government and Moroccan Sultan ben Youssef said that the protectorate of 1912 could not govern French-Moroccan relations any longer. A protocol signed simultaneously made the French Resident Minister a High Commissioner and limited his powers.

*Mar. 5:* Sultan ben Youssef received a tumultuous

welcome in Rabat upon his return from Paris after having secured Morocco's independence.

*Mar. 6:* Clashes between Moroccans and Spanish troops in the Spanish Zone over the 2 previous days resulted in 32 Moroccans dead and over 100 hurt.

*Mar. 7:* Sultan ben Youssef broadcast criticisms of Spanish troops for their "brutality" in breaking up demonstrating Moroccans on Mar. 4-5.

*Mar. 8:* Lieut. Gen. Rafael Garcia Vallino, High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco, was called to Madrid for a meeting with Generalissimo Franco.

Spanish authorities in Tangier and Tetuan censored the text of the speech broadcast by Sultan ben Youssef on Mar. 7.

*Mar. 10:* Moulay Hassan ben al-Mahdi, the Sultan's chief representative in Spanish Morocco, said that his country was capable of unity and independence and would resist any action endangering these.

*Mar. 17:* Abrahib Bouabid, a member of the Istiqlal executive committee, said on his return to Casablanca from Paris that a satisfactory solution to the Riff question had been reached.

*Mar. 18:* Alal al-Fasi, head of the Istiqlal Party, said that the Moroccan Government was determined to respect foreign interests in Tangier and the rest of Morocco. He insisted, however, that no part of Morocco remain under foreign control. He promised equal protection to European and Jewish minorities.

*Mar. 22:* Sultan ben Youssef took over responsibility for the enforcement of law and order in Morocco. He took the title of Supreme Commander of the Royal Armed Forces. Prince Moulay Hassan, his son and heir apparent, was designated chief of the general staff. Ahmad Reda Guedira, Minister of State, was named head of the Ministry of National Defense.

*Mar. 24:* Sultan ben Youssef told U. S. Ambassador to France Douglas Dillon that he supported the Algerian drive for independence.

*Mar. 30:* Thirty chiefs of the Moroccan "Army of Liberation" from the Riff swore fealty to Sultan ben Youssef in a ceremony at Rabat.

*Apr. 4:* Spain formally declared the end of Spanish rule in Morocco and recognized Moroccan independence and unity.

*Apr. 7:* At the conclusion of talks between Sultan ben Youssef and Generalissimo Franco, Spain and Morocco issued a joint declaration setting the basis for liquidation of the Spanish protectorate in Morocco. Unlike the Franco-Moroccan agreement of Mar. 2, the Spanish-Moroccan agreement recognized only the need for "free collaboration" between Spain and Morocco, whereas the French agreement recognized the need for "interdependence". Morocco agreed to Spanish retention of armed forces in Morocco during the transfer of powers, and to Spanish assistance in foreign relations and defense. Moroccan Sultan Mohammed

- V was granted immediate legislative powers.
- Apr. 8:* Moroccan workers at U. S. air bases in Morocco scheduled a wage strike demanding wage increases averaging 17% for Apr. 9. The Union of American Air Base Workers sponsored the strike. The most important of 14 demands submitted to U. S. representatives by the union was for a flat wage increase of 5000 francs to the lowest paid category of workers.
- Apr. 9:* Sultan Mohammed V visited Tetuan. It was the first time in 67 years that a Sultan had visited the city.
- Apr. 12:* The strike of workers at U. S. military bases in Morocco ended with the understanding that negotiations would begin at once to establish a new wage scale.
- Apr. 15:* About 100 Europeans demonstrated in Casablanca against French Radical leader Mendès-France, who had come to Morocco to attend a meeting of the Moroccan branch of the party.
- Apr. 17:* Two French residents of Morocco were arrested in the garden of the French High Commissioner in Rabat and charged with attempting to murder Radical leader Mendès-France.
- Apr. 18:* A riot between members of the Istiqlal party and the governor of the Larache region of Spanish Morocco, Pasha Raissouni, and his supporters, resulted in 6 killed and 15 wounded.
- Apr. 22:* An explosion at Oujda, French Morocco, killed 5 persons.
- Apr. 26:* Sultan Mohammed V named Ahmad Balafrej, secretary general of the Istiqlal Party, Foreign Minister. The appointment gave the Istiqlal a majority of one in the Moroccan Cabinet.
- A French colonel commanding a French motorized infantry unit was kidnapped by North Africans near Oujda, eastern Morocco.
- Apr. 30:* All 9 Moroccan members of the Tangier International Legislative Assembly walked out on a procedural question, after a Moroccan delegate introduced a surprise motion tending to limit the Assembly's legislative powers which was then ruled out of order by William Bird of the U. S., vice-president of the Assembly. Bird claimed the Assembly had no power to amend the Tangier Statute. The walkout left the Assembly with a membership of 20.
- May 2:* Riots in Marrakech between nationalists and supporters of the late Pasha Thami al Glaoui left 15 dead.
- Foreign Minister Balafrej visited Tangier and said that the non-Moroccan delegates to the Assembly had indicated full agreement to the principle of Tangerine unification into a unified Morocco.
- May 3:* 18 more supporters of al Glaoui were killed in riots in Morocco.
- May 4:* Kaid Lahcen, Moroccan Minister of Interior, resigned following 3 days of disorders between nationalists and supporters of al Glaoui.
- May 5:* Moroccan Foreign Minister Balafrej left for Paris for consultations on Morocco's future relations with other countries.
- 4 more Moroccans were murdered in revenge slayings among followers of the late Pasha Thami al Glaoui of Marrakech.
- May 15:* Moroccan guerillas released 6 French Senegalese soldiers captured May 7 and presented them to Sultan Mohammed V.
- May 19:* Morocco and France signed a diplomatic agreement permitting Morocco to extend diplomatic recognition to a number of countries.
- May 26:* The Moroccan national anthem was played at the beginning of the Moroccan Radio's regular broadcast, replacing the Marseillaise, for the first time in 26 years.
- May 28:* France and Morocco signed a treaty bringing their foreign policies into alignment. Article 2 of the treaty stated that Morocco would assume the obligations contracted in her name by France in international treaties. The Franco-American treaty of 1950 permitting establishment of U. S. air bases in Morocco was specifically exempted from the treaty.
- May 30:* The irregular Army of Liberation which carried on guerilla warfare with the French prior to Moroccan independence issued a communiqué accusing French troops still in Morocco of provocations, and demanded their immobilization.

## Pakistan

(See also Afghanistan, India)

1956

- Mar. 1:* An agreement reached between the British Admiralty and the Pakistan Navy provided for Britain to sell Pakistan 4 destroyers and 1 cruiser.
- Mar. 2:* The U. S. announced it would ship at least 165,000 tons of rice to Pakistan to help avert a food shortage there. 60,000 tons of the rice were to be a gift from the American people; the remainder was to be sold under an agriculture commodity agreement providing for payment in Pakistani currency.

Pakistan became officially an Islamic Republic; subsequently the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution approving membership in the British Commonwealth.

*Mar. 3:* Pakistani protests against his past role as Viceroy of India apparently caused British Lord Mountbatten to cancel his trip to SEATO meetings in Karachi.

*Mar. 9:* Representatives of the SEATO countries, meeting in Karachi, promised to support Pakistan in her dispute with Afghanistan over the Pathans in her Northwest Frontier Province. The conference also reaffirmed SEATO support for UN resolutions calling for a plebiscite in Kashmir. Pakistan said that the Soviet loan to Afghanistan was a smokescreen for supplying Communist arms to the Afghan army.

*Mar. 15:* The 1956-57 budget was adopted.

*Mar. 17:* Foreign Minister Hamidul Huq Choudhury charged India with 6 border violations between Feb. 17 and Mar. 14.

*Mar. 24:* Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, who led a 40-man Soviet delegation to Pakistan Republic Day ceremonies, made a definite offer of economic assistance to Pakistan, no strings attached.

*Mar. 25:* President Iskander Mirza addressed the first session of the National Assembly, and warned India against repeated border violations, which he said could lead to suicidal war between the two countries.

*Mar. 26:* Pakistan said she would decline offers of Soviet aid.

*Mar. 30:* A severe wheat shortage was reported in West Pakistan.

*Mar. 31:* Prime Minister Mohammed Ali declared that the Kashmir dispute was a threat to international peace. He said that Indian intransigence was entirely responsible for the deadlock on Kashmir's disposition.

*Apr. 6:* Prime Minister Mohammed Ali said that the Kashmir dispute would be returned to the UN Security Council.

*Apr. 9:* Thirty supporters of Opposition parties in Parliament were arrested following demonstrations against Parliament's refusal to invalidate laws under which persons suspected of political activities disloyal to the state can be detained indefinitely without trial.

The Government signed an agreement with the Hunt International Oil Co. of Texas to begin oil exploration along 20,000 square miles along the Arabian Sea coast.

Completion of the first General Motors car on Pakistan's GM assembly line was announced.

*Apr. 22:* An ambush of a Pakistan Army patrol near Fort Sandeman by 150 Afghan tribesmen resulted in 8 killed and 5 wounded from the patrol.

*Apr. 29:* Pir Ziauddin Indarabi, Health and Rehabilitation Minister of Azad Kashmir, announced the formation of a new political party, the Jammu and Kashmir Freedom League.

*Apr. 30:* The West Pakistan Cabinet was expanded by the swearing in of 2 new ministers.

Dr. M. L. A. Khan Sahib, Chief Minister of West Pakistan Province, announced that his new opposition party, the Republican Party, had the support of 12 additional Moslem League members in the national parliament. He reported that on Apr. 29 10 of the 35 Moslem League members of the parliament had resigned from the League and joined his party.

*May 13:* Pakistan issued her first 5-year plan for economic development. The plan envisaged a total outlay of \$2,200,000,000. Prime Minister Mohammed Ali said that a gap of \$700,000,000 existed between the total and the amount of funds available, due to Pakistan's lack of foreign

exchange. He added that the chief bottleneck in executing the plan was the dearth of skilled manpower and of technical talent.

*May 22:* The provincial government of East Pakistan fell after a ruling by Speaker Abdul Hakim that the provincial cabinet headed by Governor Abu Husayn Sarkar was not competent to present the annual budget.

*May 24:* The USSR announced it would contribute 20,000 tons of wheat and the same amount of rice to alleviate a famine in East Pakistan.

An agreement was signed between Pakistan and Shell Oil, by which an operating company, Pakistan Shell Oil Ltd. would be formed to search for oil over 10,000 square miles in West Pakistan and 10,000 in East Pakistan.

*May 31:* A Soviet trade mission arrived in Karachi.

Mir Waiz Mohammed Yusuf Shah was named president of the caretaker government of Azad Kashmir, at the conclusion of unity talks between the various groups of the Jammu and Kashmir Moslem Conference.

The West Pakistan Assembly passed the budget for the 1956 fiscal year.

## Palestine Problem

(See also Egypt, Libya, Syria)

1956

*Mar. 3:* An exchange of fire was reported along the Gaza strip. No casualties were listed.

*Mar. 4:* Two Israeli policemen were killed in a clash with Syrian coastal positions on the northeast corner of the Sea of Galilee.

*Mar. 5:* Syrian machinegunners shot down an Israeli plane on the northeast frontier. The pilot was wounded but brought the plane down safely.

An Israeli patrol clashed with Egyptian scouts in the area of Haterim, west of Beersheba. One Egyptian was killed and two captured.

*Mar. 9:* Jordanians raided the Jerusalem corridor village of Naham at night, killing one villager. One Jordanian was killed.

*Mar. 15:* A UN commission condemned both Jordan and Israel for a battle in the village of Barta'a on March 12. A Jordanian woman and an Israeli policeman were killed, and 2 Jordanians wounded, in that clash.

*Mar. 17:* Israel reported driving three groups of Egyptian infiltrators back into the Gaza strip. Egypt accused Israel of an attack on an Arab refugee camp in the strip.

*Mar. 19:* In a letter to Israeli President Izhak Ben-Zvi, President Eisenhower assured Israel that the U. S. Government is actively seeking a peaceful solution of the Arab Israel dispute.

Israel reported an attack by the Arab Legion on an Israeli force near Beersheba, in the first border incident in that area since 1954.

In Baghdad, Premier Nuri al-Sa'id of Iraq said

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that Iraq would give help to any Arab state attacked by Israel.

*Mar. 24:* The UNRWA in Palestine issued a statement requesting UN headquarters to review the question of continuing its work in Syria, after Syrian Minister of Health Dr. Badri Abbad, had charged that the agency was deliberately exterminating Arab refugees.

*Mar. 29:* Israel and Syria exchanged prisoners at Bnot-Yaakov. Five Israelis and 41 Syrians were freed.

*Mar. 31:* Syrians freed by Israel as war prisoners told reporters they had been tortured in an Israeli attempt to wrest military secrets from them.

*Apr. 1:* A Jordanian attack on an Israeli military team with UN observers investigating another attack in the Samarian hills was reported on the eve of Easter.

*Apr. 4:* The UN Security Council unanimously requested Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld to go to the Middle East to work out improved armistice relations between the Arab States and Israel. The resolution asked the Secretary General to make a month's survey of present compliance with armistice agreements, and to arrange any measures which would reduce tension among both sides.

Representatives of the Baghdad Pact met in Teheran to discuss Communist subversion in the area covered by the Pact.

*Apr. 5:* Dag Hammarskjöld said at a news conference that he did not expect his mission to the Middle East to accomplish miracles.

A ceasefire arranged by UN officials halted a ten-hour battle in the Gaza strip. Egypt reported 42 killed and more than 100 wounded, but a later Cairo report to the UN Security Council put the figure at 33 civilians killed and 92 wounded. Israel reported 6 wounded.

*Apr. 6:* Two breaches of the ceasefire were reported in the Gaza strip. UN truce chief Major General Burns postponed his trip to Rome to confer with UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld due to his fear of a breakdown in ceasefire arrangements and for the safety of UN personnel in Gaza. UN observers reported 55 civilians killed in the April 5 artillery duel between Israeli artillery and Egyptian forces in Gaza.

UN Secretary Hammarskjöld left for the Middle East. He said he was counting on the full cooperation of all parties in the Arab-Israeli dispute to being a peace settlement.

*Apr. 7:* Arab suicide squads, called *fedayeen*, staged reprisal raids on Nizamin near Beersheba, Faluja, and Shoval, a kibbutz north of Beersheba. A pumping station was blown up at Ascalon, and several civilians wounded.

Egypt accused Israel of breaking the truce first on April 5, by firing shots from the Damra area northwest of Gaza.

*Apr. 8:* Israeli Premier Ben-Gurion promised UN

truce chief Burns that Israel would not retaliate against Egypt for the series of Arab attacks of April 7, within 48 hours. He added, however, that unless unequivocal assurances were obtained from Egypt that Israel must reserve freedom of action.

UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld cut short his visit to Rome and prepared to leave for the Middle East earlier than intended, due to mounting tension there.

*Apr. 10:* A 5-man *fedayeen* band that penetrated to within 15 miles of Tel Aviv was surrounded and killed by Israeli border police near Nir Galim. Other *fedayeen* bands killed three Israelis and blew up an irrigation pipeline at Bayt Rayim on the Gaza Strip. The Israeli Foreign Ministry issued a statement declaring that Egypt's failure to comply with the UN ceasefire terms within 48 hours left Israel no choice but to reserve to herself freedom of action. A UN spokesman said the period was "the most dangerous since the armistice."

Syrian patrols fired on an Israeli patrol that crossed the armistice line into Syrian territory near Ein Gev, in the Zawiah area.

*Apr. 11:* Hammarskjöld was reported to have offered concrete proposals previously approved by the Security Council to Egyptian Premier Nasir.

*Apr. 12:* Arab assassination squads killed 4 Israelis and wounded 5 in an attack on an evening prayer service at Habaad, southeast of Tel Aviv. A Yemenite couple was wounded at Ahiezer, nearby, by *fedayeen* grenades.

An air battle between Egyptian and Israeli jet fighters over the Negev resulted in the shooting down of one Egyptian jet.

Both Israel and Egypt promised Hammarskjöld to refrain from warlike acts along their borders. However, each nation reserved to itself the right of self-defense in the event of future incidents.

Hammarskjöld sent a message to Israeli Premier Ben-Gurion urging him for assurances that Israel's troops would abstain from acts of war along the Egyptian frontier.

*Apr. 14:* Hammarskjöld toured the Gaza area and then held an informal conference with Israeli officials at Lydda.

Five Israeli soldiers were wounded by a land mine in the Gaza area.

*Apr. 17:* Israeli forces fired on Egyptian positions three times. There were no casualties.

The USSR offered to support a UN settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and called for measures to ease tension in the Middle East without external intervention.

*Apr. 19:* Hammarskjöld announced that Egypt and Israel had agreed to carry out a ceasefire as of 6 p.m. April 18. Israel agreed to permit more freedom of movement for UN truce observers along the demarcation line and for the creation of fixed observer posts along the Gaza strip.

*Apr. 23:* Syrian fire forced a fleet of 15 Israeli fishing craft from the controversial northeast corner of the Sea of Galilee.

Hammarskjöld flew to Damascus for talks with Syrian officials.

*Apr. 24:* Four Israelis were ambushed and killed in the Negev Desert in a revival of Arab raids across the Jordanian frontier. The Israelis were surveyors working in the Wadi Aravah.

*Apr. 26:* Egypt accepted all the principles and most of the specific items in Hammarskjöld's plan for ending Arab-Israeli tensions. The only reported deadlock was the question of how far their troops were to be withdrawn from the demarcation line agreed upon.

*Apr. 28:* Hammarskjöld returned to Cairo to make physical arrangements for a permanent guarantee of the Egyptian-Israeli ceasefire.

*Apr. 29:* Israel reported a breach of the ceasefire agreement near Gaza with 2 Israelis killed and two wounded. An Israeli settler was dragged across the truce line and mutilated while attempting to thwart Arab infiltrators.

*Apr. 30:* Hammarskjöld opened final truce talks with Premier Ben-Gurion.

*May 1:* Syria's demands that Israel not attempt to divert Jordan waters for irrigation purposes stalled acceptance of a Syrian ceasefire.

*May 3:* Hammarskjöld reported positive results from his Middle East trip, including unconditional guarantees of a ceasefire.

*May 5:* Jordan Defense Minister Falah Madadha said Jordan had not yet issued her ceasefire order. He said she was waiting for a firm Israeli pledge to Syria not to proceed with diversion of the River Jordan.

*May 7:* A border clash was reported near the village of Khan Yunis. Israeli troops placed the Arab village of Taibeh, near the Jordan border, under a curfew, and searched for Arab commandos.

*May 8:* Israel blamed the U. S. Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission, Commander Elmer Terrill, for refusing to find Jordan guilty of a breach in the ceasefire.

*May 10:* Hammarskjöld reported to the Security Council that a will to peace existed in the Middle East, and urged encouragement of this feeling. He called for a waiting period while the results of his peace mission developed.

*May 11:* Hammarskjöld rebuked Israel for an incorrect version of the Nirim incident of May 7, claiming the Egyptians had staged the incident.

*May 12:* Egyptian Premier Nasir paid a surprise visit to the Egyptian-held Gaza strip. He declared that his Government considered the Strip a part of Egypt.

*May 15:* Israel rejected a suggestion by UN truce chief Burns that the Mixed Armistice Commission resume meetings in the El Auja (Nitsana) demilitarized zone, now occupied by Israeli forces.

She claimed occupation of El Auja was necessary for her security, but agreed to hold meetings at a third neutral site to discuss arrangements for implementation of the Palestine ceasefire.

*May 17:* Israeli troops surrounded the Arab village of Zalafa and put it under curfew, following an ambush of two Israelis on a motorcycle in the Wadi Arab Pass near the village on May 15. The village was suspected of harboring sympathizers who had aided the alleged infiltrators who caused the incident. Several arrests were made.

*May 21:* Arab infiltrators ambushed an Israeli patrol near the Lebanese border and wounded one member.

*May 23:* Israel expressed readiness to discuss measures to improve the truce supervision along the Gaza strip. She agreed to set up 6 observation posts along her side of the truce line to correspond with 6 Egyptian ones already agreed upon.

*May 24:* UN truce chief Burns announced that Israel had refused to sanction meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission at El Auja, on grounds that the demilitarized area was Israeli territory. He also censured Jordan for an attack on Israeli forces on Mt. Scopus, where an Israeli policeman was wounded.

*May 28:* Britain proposed that Hammarskjöld be asked to continue his efforts toward reducing tension in the Middle East.

*May 31:* Arab UN delegates attacked the British-sponsored resolution to ask Hammarskjöld to continue his efforts toward a peace settlement on the Middle East on 2 points. One was the failure to state the exact authority to be granted to Hammarskjöld; the other was the endorsement of a peace settlement "on a mutually agreeable basis." Syrian delegate Shuqairi rejected the resolution completely and called it "poison". He said that to obtain a settlement with Israel it would be necessary to write off every UN resolution on Palestine since the 1947 partition.

## Persian Gulf

(See also Syria)

*Mar. 8:* The 6 members recently appointed to the new Education Council to complement the elected members were asked to resign by the higher executive committee of the Government of Bahrain because of non-cooperation.

*Mar. 11:* A general strike of refinery workers on Bahrain began.

*Mar. 17:* Workers in Bahrain ended their strike and returned to work after an announcement that the British Government was ready to lend support to the ruling shaykh, Sir Salman ibn Hamad al-Khalifah, to maintain law and order. The strike was reported aimed at securing a larger voice in their affairs for the people, and

against the influence of the Shaykh's British advisor, Sir Charles Belgrave.

*Mar. 24:* The shaykh of Kuwait authorized the Iraq Petroleum Company to survey a route for a pipeline across Kuwait territory from Basra oilfields to the Kuwait coast between Kuwait town and Mina al-Ahmadi.

*Apr. 6:* A Kuwait oil tanker company was formed under the auspices of the shaykh of Kuwait with a nominal capital of £3,700,000.

*May 17:* Sir Charles Belgrave, advisor to the ruler of Bahrain, announced that press censorship would end in Bahrain on May 21 for the 3 Arabic biweekly newspapers in the shaykhdom.

*May 27:* Between 20 and 30 persons were arrested in Kuwait for alleged Communist activities in a series of raids; a large quantity of Communist literature was found.

## Saudi Arabia

(See also General, Egypt, Yemen)

1956

*Mar. 3:* Saudi Arabia received 2 fighter planes from Egypt.

*Mar. 6:* King Sa'ud arrived in Cairo for talks with Premier Nasir and Syrian president al-Quwwatli on Arab defense alignments.

*Mar. 15:* Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Shaykh Yusuf Yasin said that Saudi Arabia was negotiating with Britain for a peaceful settlement of the Buraimi Oasis dispute.

The Saudi Arabian Government gave Jordan 100,000 dinars as a first instalment of the assistance Saudi Arabia had decided to give to the Jordanian National Guard.

*Mar. 28:* The 18 Walker Bulldog tanks ordered from the U. S. and shipped on Feb. 18 to Saudi Arabia arrived in Dammam.

A squadron of Egyptian jet aircraft arrived in Jidda and were delivered to Saudi Arabia under the terms of the bilateral alliance with Egypt.

*Apr. 5:* King Sa'ud officially inaugurated the extension of the Holy Mosque in Mecca, a project estimated to cost SR 500,000,000 (\$125,000,000).

*Apr. 8:* King Sa'ud expressed his support of Egypt in its conflict with Israel over the Gaza Sector.

*Apr. 21:* Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen signed a trilateral military alliance at Jidda to run for 5 years.

*Apr. 26:* A British delegation arrived in Jidda for talks on Saudi-British differences. It was led by Foreign Office Undersecretary Dodds-Parker.

*May 16:* The U. S. Defense Department confirmed that a consignment of ammunition and other military equipment had left Sunny Point, N. C., for shipment to Saudi Arabia. The shipment, valued at less than \$1,000,000, was part of a sale authorized in August, 1955.

## Sudan

(See also Egypt)

1956

*Mar. 15:* The Sudan Government completed an agreement with the Soviet delegation visiting the Sudan to set up a Soviet embassy in Khartoum.

*Mar. 21:* The Sudan was designated officially "The Republic of the Sudan."

*Mar. 24:* The Government earmarked LE 19,000 as compensation to the families of the farmers who died at Kosti.

*Mar. 31:* President Eisenhower named Lowell C. Pinkerton as first U. S. Ambassador to the Sudan.

*Apr. 2:* Premier Sayyid Isma'il al-Azhari stated that the Sudan considered itself at war with Israel since joining the Arab League.

*Apr. 15:* Premier al-Azhari said that negotiations were continuing with a Czech military mission visiting the Sudan. He disclosed that the USSR had offered economic and technical aid to the Sudan. He said his country opposed any foreign alliances, and supported Egypt on the question of Israel and would support any Arab countries attacked by Israel. He said he was sure Egypt and the Sudan would reach agreement on the sharing of the Nile waters.

Three members of the opposition *Umma* party were released from jail. They were serving sentences of 5 to 14 years for disorders during the opening of Parliament in March, 1954.

*Apr. 18:* The Sudan decided to accept an Egyptian offer of military equipment, including tanks and armored cars.

*Apr. 22:* Sudanese Foreign Undersecretary Sayyid Muhammad 'Uthman Yasmin left for Addis Ababa at the head of a delegation to discuss settlement of Sudanese property in Gambala, an important coffee trading center under Ethiopian control.

*Apr. 25:* The *Umma* party issued a statement on its new policy. It would endeavor to form an Islamic democratic republic, follow the democratic system of government, and advocate a legislative policy based on religious laws and an economic policy based on socialist principles.

*Apr. 26:* Workers in the Goudahr agricultural scheme, scene of demonstrations in February which led to the arrest and death of 200 farmers at Kosti, went on strike in protest against the dismissal of their trade union president.

*Apr. 29:* Three Sudanese workers left for Peking to represent the federation of Sudanese trade unions in May Day celebrations.

*May 2:* Full agreement was announced by the Sudan and Ethiopia on the settlement of Sudanese property in Gambala.

Foreign Minister Zarruq said that until the currency question was settled between Egypt and the Sudan he would not agree to talks on the

division of the Nile waters between the two countries.

**May 30:** The Chamber of Deputies approved the second reading of the currency bill (the first reading was approved on May 28).

Foreign Minister Zarruq said that the Sudan would take no decision on recognition of Communist China until after the Sudan's application for UN membership was approved.

**May 31:** Sayyid Ahmad Muhammad Salah was replaced as president of the Sudanese Sovereignty Council by Sayyid 'Abd al-Fattah al-Maghribi.

## Syria

(See also General, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Palestine Problem, Saudi Arabia, Yemen)

1956

**Mar. 1:** The budget committee of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies approved the Syrian civil defense budget of £S 18,500,000.

**Mar. 3:** The Chamber of Deputies approved bills setting up model villages and an Arab civil aviation council, and ratified the air agreement with Denmark.

**Mar. 6:** Syria complained to the Mixed Armistice Commission of Israeli violation of Syrian air space on Mar. 5.

The first issue of the Communist French-language newspaper *Syria* was published in Damascus.

President Shukri al-Quwwatli joined the heads of Egypt and Saudi Arabia in a conference at Cairo to plan a coordinated Arab defense against Israel.

**Mar. 7:** The first American shipment of aid to Palestinian refugees was unloaded in Beirut.

**Mar. 16:** Syria lodged two complaints with the Turko-Syrian Joint Border Commission. One was that a Turkish patrol had fired on 3 Syrians in Harem District, killing one. The other was a violation of Syrian territory by a Turkish armed unit which attempted to seize cattle from the village of Zawiat Elzerbeh. The attempt was unsuccessful.

**Mar. 17:** A Soviet cultural delegation arrived in Damascus to present a Stalin peace award to Shaykh Muhammad al-Ashmar, Syrian religious leader.

**Mar. 19:** Syrian students demonstrated against French violence in Algeria.

A Bulgarian trade delegation arrived in Damascus.

**Mar. 22:** The first conference of Arab labor unions opened in Damascus.

**Mar. 24:** Police guarded the French, British, and U. S. embassies in Damascus as 15,000 students demonstrated against France's North African policy. The demonstrators carried green and white Algerian flags.

**Apr. 3:** The Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution recommending that the Arab League approve an economic, political, and cultural boycott of France if she continued her aggressive policies in Algeria.

Syria and the USSR ratified trade and payments agreements.

**Apr. 6:** The conference of the Syrian, Lebanese, Jordanian and Kuwait committees of "Every Citizen is Sentry" was ended in Damascus. It adopted resolutions that the Arab boycott of Israel should be tightened.

Five thousand employees of the Iraq Petroleum Company in Syria ended their 11-day strike for more wages.

**Apr. 12:** Minister of Defense Sayyid Rashad Barada received a delegation of Kuwaiti youth who presented a check for \$145,000 towards Kuwait's contribution to the equipment of the Syrian Army.

**Apr. 14:** The Syrian Government refused to conclude a loan with the IBRD because of a condition that IBRD loans be used through contractors and technical advisors from countries who are members of the IBRD.

**Apr. 16:** An exchange of fire occurred between Syrian army units and a Turkish patrol at Sukkaria in the Euphrates governate.

**Apr. 17:** Workers in the Homs Electric Company went on strike.

**Apr. 19:** Two Syrians were killed by a Turk in Aleppo governate.

**Apr. 21:** An Atoms-For-Peace exhibition opened in Damascus by the American Embassy under supervision of the Ministry of Education.

A general strike took place throughout Syria in protest against French policy in Algeria. In Damascus 30,000 demonstrators urged a French boycott.

**Apr. 28:** The Homs Electric Co. strike ended with the workers receiving higher wages and a bonus.

Eight members of the Syrian Popular party (*hizb al-qawmi*) were sentenced to death and ten others received prison terms for complicity in the assassination of Col. Adnan al-Malki, assistant chief of staff of the Army, on April 22, 1955.

**Apr. 29:** West German banks offered to lend Syria \$72,000,000 payable in 2 installments over a 2-year period. Syria would use the loan to buy West German products at world prices.

**Apr. 30:** Eleven were killed in a battle between supporters of the leftist Hinchak party and the Tashnak National party during a service in the Armenian Orthodox Church in Aleppo.

**May 21:** Sayyid Asad Harun, Minister of State for Wakfs, resigned following the resignation of Minister of Justice Munir al-Ajlani.

**May 24:** Clashes in the Hama area between the Socialist Ba'th party and landowners resulted in 1 killed and 41 injured.

- Muhammad Sulayman al-Ahmad became the new Minister of Justice.
- May 28:* The 18 sentences imposed on officials of the Syrian Popular Party for the assassination of Col. Malki were reversed.
- May 29:* Syria decided to forbid the export of wheat to France and Alegria.
- May 31:* Ahmad Shuqairi, Syria's UN delegate, told the Security Council that history, law, and cultural heritage supported his claim that Palestine is a part of Syria.

## Tunisia

1956

- Mar. 8:* Dr. Sadok Mokadem, Minister of Public Health, who assumed the duties of Premier Tahar ben Ammar during the latter's visit to Paris, told 43 visiting U. S. reporters that an independent Tunisia would serve as a link between the Arab League and the West.
- Mar. 9:* A mob of French extremists in Tunis attacked the U. S. Consulate and the U. S. Information Library, causing extensive damage. Two Europeans were murdered by supporters of the outlawed nationalist leader Salah ben Youssef, who had opposed all cooperation with France. The riots began at a cemetery outside Tunis at the funeral of 2 French farmers murdered by terrorists. Two local newspapers were also vandalized. Damage to U. S. property was unofficially assessed at \$20,000.
- Mar. 13:* The largest clash reported in Tunisia in the past 18 months took place in the Matmata Mtns. near Mednine. Ten French soldiers were wounded in a fight with outlaws joined by 200 of the dissident Beni Khadeshe Berber tribe.
- Mar. 15:* Tunisia's first national election campaign got under way when the Neo-Destour party issued its National Front platform calling for a liberal constitutional monarchy along Western lines but avoiding the question of a state religion. The platform specified the following principles: a constitutional monarchy under the Bey of Tunis; democratic institutions, including a unicameral parliament and an elected municipal legislature; separation of legislative, judicial, and executive powers; freedom of thought, press, and assembly, and social justice, with guaranteed rights to work, security of employment, free and obligatory public schools, a public medical program, and the emancipation of women.
- Mar. 16:* Fighting continued in the south of Tunisia between French and rebel forces on the eve of the national elections.
- Mar. 17:* France officially recognized the independence of Tunisia.
- Mar. 22:* Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour party, returned to Tunisia after the signing of the protocol recognizing Tunisian independence. He urged France to recognize Algeria's sovereignty.
- Violent demonstrations broke out in Tunis, inspired by adherents of exiled political leader Salah ben Youssef, Bourguiba's opponent. Five demonstrators were arrested.
- Mar. 23:* Habib Bourguiba assailed the speech by American Ambassador Dillon in Paris supporting France's position toward Algeria.
- A minor official of the Neo-Destour party was kidnapped and killed in Tamarza by a secret terroristic organization called the Black Sword, that supports exiled political leader Salah ben Youssef.
- Mar. 25:* National Front candidates for a constituent assembly apparently won all the seats in the assembly in the national elections. Between 80 and 85% of registered voters were reported voting. Of 120,232 votes cast, National Front candidates won 118,198 and Communists 1,693.
- Mar. 26:* An unknown terrorist killed Husayn Bouzaiane, Secretary General of the Neo-Destour Federation of Gafsa and professor of Arabic culture at the Grand Mosque in Tunis, in Gafsa. Bouzaiane had just been elected to the constituent assembly.
- Apr. 7:* The Tunisian Government gained control over that portion of the local police which had been under French authority, following 4 days of negotiations.
- Apr. 8:* The inaugural session of the Tunisian National Constituent Assembly got under way in Tunis. Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour party, was elected president of the Assembly by acclamation.
- Apr. 10:* Habib Bourguiba agreed to head the new government of independent Tunisia as Premier, after a request by the Bey of Tunis that he do so.
- Apr. 14:* Premier Bourguiba formed a cabinet, as follows:
- Habib Bourguiba—Premier, Defense, Foreign Minister
  - Bahi Ladgham—Vice-Premier (Neo-Destour)
  - Mongi Slim—Minister of State (Neo-Destour)
  - Muhammad Masmoudi—Minister of State (Neo-Destour)
  - Fayed Mehiri—Minister of Interior (Neo-Destour)
  - Ahmad Hestiri—Minister of Justice (Neo-Destour)
  - Hadji Nouira—Minister of Finance (Neo-Destour)
  - Ferdjani ben Ammar—Minister of Trade and Industry (Shopkeepers' Union)
  - Mustafa Filali—Minister of Agriculture (UGTT, trade union federation)
  - Ezedine Abassi—Minister of Public Works (UGTT)
  - Mahmud Khiari—Minister of Post Office (UGTT)

Lamine Chabbi—Minister of Education (UGTT)  
 Mahmud Makeri—Minister of Health (Independent)  
 Andre Barouch—Minister of Housing (Shopkeepers' Union)  
 Muhammad Cakroun—Minister of Social Affairs (Neo-Destour)

There were two secretaries of state, Beochir Yahmed (Neo-Destour) for Information, and Azoun Rebai (Neo-Destour) for Youth and Sport. Sadok Mokadem, Minister of Health in the former government of Premier Tahar ben Ammar, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary with the special mission of establishing relations with Arab states.

*Apr. 15:* The Bey of Tunis formally invested the new government.

*Apr. 17:* Premier Bourguiba told the National Constituent Assembly that his government was pledged to oppose poverty and unemployment. He noted that Article I of the new constitution, approved on Apr. 13, vested Tunisian sovereignty in the people.

*Apr. 18:* The Tunisian Government assumed full responsibility for internal security. An amnesty was announced for all persons convicted of crimes committed before Mar. 20.

*Apr. 19:* The Tunisian Cabinet announced the formation of a high court of justice to try political offenses and acts detrimental to national interests.

*May 1:* Premier Bourguiba announced that Tunisia would not open negotiations with France on interdependence unless France recognized Tunisia's full independence and negotiated as with an equal.

*May 20:* Mekki Kamal ben Azouz, leader of the Tunisian Nationalist Party, was killed outside the house of Premier Bourguiba.

*May 24-25:* Tunisian rebels ambushed a French Army truck and killed a French corporal, wounding 5 others.

*May 30:* Premier Bourguiba declared that diplomatic prerogatives had not been accorded to Tunisia by France and declared Tunisia solidly in support of Algerian independence.

French troops in the Tatahouine desert area in southeastern Tunisia killed 71 Tunisian guerillas and captured 17 in their first big attempt to seal off a key route for smuggling arms to Algerian rebels. French officials said the guerillas had revolted against the authority of the Tunisian Government. French losses were 3 killed, 14 wounded.

## Turkey

(See also Iraq, Cyprus, Syria)

1956

*Mar. 1:* The budget bill was passed by Parliament by a vote of 419 to 67, with one abstention.

*Mar. 3:* An economic agreement was signed between the Foreign Ministry and a Syrian delegation led by Economy Minister Rizqallah Antaki.

*Mar. 10:* Turkey received the news of the deportation of Archbishop Makarios from Cyprus with elation. All Istanbul morning papers featured it.

*Mar. 11:* British Foreign Secretary Lloyd arrived in Ankara on an official visit. He held a press conference in which he expressed Turco-British solidarity on the Cyprus issue.

*Mar. 13:* Turkey and Japan signed a protocol extending the 1955 trade agreement between the two countries.

*Mar. 17:* Nevzat Karagil, president of the Cypriote Turkish Cultural Society, criticized U. S. policy of sympathy for Greece over the deportation of Archbishop Makarios from Cyprus. He called it evidence of a new anti-Turkish foreign policy.

*Mar. 20:* The USSR marked the 35th anniversary of the Soviet-Turkish treaty of friendship with articles in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* expressing hope for improved relations between the two countries.

*Apr. 4:* Georgi Tcholakov, former Bulgarian vice-consul in Istanbul, and Ali Demerov, who entered Turkey illegally in 1952 to work for Tcholakov, were each sentenced to 24 years imprisonment by the Ankara Military Tribunal on spy charges.

*Apr. 8:* The International Cooperation Administration announced a \$25,000,000 loan to Turkey. A large part of the loan was to help Turkey purchase alloys, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and industrial spare parts.

*Apr. 9:* The Seyhan Dam in southern Turkey was formally opened.

*Apr. 10:* Turkish security officers reported they had broken a Bulgarian spy ring operating on the Turkish frontier near Edirne. Four members of the ring were arrested and brought to Istanbul.

*Apr. 11:* A Nationalist Chinese trade delegation arrived in Ankara.

*Apr. 12:* Retiring U. S. Ambassador Avra Warren returned to the U. S. and said that Turkey was "temporarily critical" of the U. S. but remained basically friendly. He linked the critical attitude to Turkey's economic difficulties.

*Apr. 18:* The first automobile-grade gasoline produced in Turkey at the new Batman refinery, 180 tons, was marketed in Iskenderun.

*Apr. 21:* A trade agreement was signed between Turkey and West Germany. West Germany agreed to import \$53,000,000 in Turkish products over the next 5 years, consisting of grain, chrome ore, cotton and iron ore. 40% of the proceeds from grain sales and 25% of the proceeds from other items would be set aside to pay off Turkey's balance of payments debt to Germany (about \$50,000,000).

*Apr. 25:* Price ceilings on meat were imposed in Istanbul.

*Apr. 28:* Governor Gökay of Istanbul was exoner-

ated of any connexion with the riots of Sept. 6-7, 1955, in Istanbul.

**May 11:** Turkish security police announced Nikolai V. Iochenko, a Soviet military attache in Ankara, had been caught trying to buy military information and asked to leave Turkey.

**May 12:** Orhan Köprülü, son of Foreign Minister Fuad Köprülü, resigned as chairman of the Democratic Party for Istanbul *vilayet*.

**May 15:** The Shah of Iran and Queen Soraya arrived for a state visit.

**May 16:** Willys Motors opened an assembly plant at Tuzla near Istanbul.

**May 19:** Turkey sent an official note to Syria protesting that Syria's plans for irrigation and drainage in the Al Ghab area would harm Turkey's agricultural border lands.

**May 21:** A new oil well was sunk at Lüleburgaz in Turkish Thrace by the Istanbul Natural Gas Co., a subsidiary of the American-owned Ralph M. Parsons Co.

cultural equipment, building supplies, oil products, wheat and rice.

**Apr. 3:** Yemeni Deputy Foreign Minister Muhammad al-'Imari claimed Britain's Aden Protectorate for Yemen, on grounds that the British were planning to federate the different sections of Aden.

**Apr. 10:** Imam Ahmad initialled a pact aligning Yemen with Egyptian Premier Nasir's "Arab Alliance" of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. He stated that he considered it a necessary link in Arab unity.

**Apr. 22:** Following the signing of the pact between Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen, Yemeni tribesmen fired on a post in Beihan, Aden Protectorate. The Aden Government asked the tribesmen to withdraw.

**Apr. 23:** Britain protested to Yemen over the raid by Yemeni tribesmen into Aden on Apr. 22, and asked the Yemeni Government to withdraw the raiders.

**May 5:** Yemeni Deputy Foreign Minister Qadi Muhammad al-'Imari announced in Cairo after a meeting with Czech Ambassador Karpisek, that Yemen would conclude a treaty of friendship with Czechoslovakia.

**May 18:** Aden Government spokesmen said that two of the most powerful men in the Yemen, the Amir of Beidha and the Nayib of Ibb, had received the equivalent of \$1,400,000 and 5000 rifles and ammunition from King Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia.

## Yemen

(See also General, Saudi Arabia)

1956

**Mar. 8:** Yemen signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. Yemen would export coffee, dried fruit, and hides to the USSR in return for agri-

# DOCUMENTS

## THE NEW EGYPTIAN CONSTITUTION

The three-year transitional period proclaimed by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) as a prelude to the introduction of representative democracy in Egypt came to an end January 16, 1956, when Prime Minister Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir introduced before a large Cairo assembly the draft of a new constitution. This document was submitted to a referendum on June 23, 1956. It was accepted by the electorate and is now the law of the land.

### *Provisions of the Constitution Summarized*

#### *Preamble*

The new constitution is the first to be drafted in the name of the Egyptian people. "We, the Egyptian people" introduces each of the paragraphs of the preamble. This section is a reaffirmation of the six-point program of the RCC: the abolition of imperialism, "feudalism", monopoly, and the control of capitalist influence over the system of government, and the establishment of a strong army, social justice, and a democratic society.

Paragraph 6 of the preamble reads as follows: "We, the Egyptian people, realizing that we form an organic part of a greater Arab entity, and aware of our responsibilities and obligations toward the common Arab struggle for the glory and honor of the Arab nation;". This testimonial to Arab nationalism sets the stage for the many revolutionary elements to follow.

#### *Chapter One—The Egyptian State*

The first three articles of the constitution proclaim Egypt a sovereign independent Arab state and a democratic republic, with sovereignty inherent in the nation, Islam

the state religion, and Arabic the official language. The Egyptian people are described as an integral part of the Arab nation.

#### *Chapter Two—The Fundamental Values of Egyptian Society*

The 26 articles of this chapter constitute a guarantee of the economic, physical, legal, and moral welfare of the Egyptian citizen. Article 4 sets the tone: "Social solidarity is fundamental to Egyptian society". Subsequent articles provide for a planned economy, limitations of the size of agricultural holdings, encouragement of cooperatives, state ownership of natural resources, and a comprehensive social security program. The advanced socialism of these programs is tempered by articles designating the family as the basis of society, guaranteeing the right of private ownership, proclaiming private economic activity free from state interference so long as it does not prejudice public interests, encouraging private savings, and prescribing the establishment of means for protection of small agricultural holdings. Article 29 prohibits the institution of aristocratic titles. Article 19, by which the state would undertake to help women reconcile public activities with domestic responsibilities, is taken as an indication of an expected rapid increase in the participation of Egyptian women in elections and public life.

#### *Chapter Three—Public Rights and Obligations*

Articles 30 to 63 of the constitution form the Bill of Rights. They provide that Egyptians are equal before the law, not to be deprived of their citizenship, not to be dis-

criminated against because of sex, race, language, or religion, not to be arrested, imprisoned, or punished except by law, not to be banished from Egyptian soil, not to be compelled to reside in or abandon a specific area except by law, and not to be liable to the confiscation of their property except according to law. The extradition of political refugees is prohibited. The constitution guarantees the inviolability of the home, freedom and secrecy of correspondence, freedom of opinion and research, freedom of the press and publication, and freedom of association and assembly, all within the limits of the law. Freedom of belief is absolute. The state protects the right to worship in accordance with the customs prevailing in Egypt providing that public order is not prejudiced and public morals are not offended.

Education is declared the right of all Egyptians, and free within the limits of the law. Elementary education is compulsory.

Chapter Three supplements Chapter Two in setting forth the state's responsibility for the economic welfare of its citizens. Under Article 52, every Egyptian has the right to work, and the state will endeavor to provide him with employment. The state guarantees fair hours, wages, and working conditions, and the right to unionize. Under Article 56, every Egyptian has the right to medical care, which is to be provided by the progressive expansion of the state system of hospitals and clinics.

The Constitution imposes on Egyptians the following obligations: compulsory military service, in accordance with the law, the payment of taxes in accordance with the law, concern for public order, respect for public morality, and participation in public life.

Not only do Egyptians have the right to vote, but they may petition the authorities in writing over their signatures, and they may present complaints to any state agency regarding the failure of a government employee properly to discharge the functions of his office.

#### *Chapter Four—Authorities: Part 1—The Chief of State*

Article 64 provides that the Chief of State is the President of the Republic.

#### *Chapter Four, Part 2—The Legislative Authority*

The Legislature is the subject of 54 articles. The draft constitution provides for a National Assembly (*majlis al-ummah*) of unspecified size, its members to be chosen by secret general election. It sits for five years, the voting for a new assembly being held during the last 60 days' tenure of the old. If unusual circumstances prevent dissolution, the session shall be prolonged by law as necessary. The Assembly is to sit in Cairo, and is summoned to meet in ordinary annual session before the second Thursday in November or, if not summoned, meets automatically on that day. The ordinary session must last seven months and can not be prorogued before the passage of the budget. The President of the Republic calls the Assembly into session and prorogues it; he alone can call the Assembly into extraordinary session. At the opening of each ordinary session, he delivers to the National Assembly a statement of the government's policy, on the analogy of the United States president's State of the Union message.

The President has the right to dissolve the Assembly, but he can not dissolve two successive assemblies on the same issue. The Assembly may force a member of the cabinet to resign by a majority vote of no confidence, provided the original motion was preceded by an interpellation, was supported by at least ten members, and preceded the vote by at least three days.

The officers of the National Assembly are a president and two vice presidents, elected at its first meeting. Its sessions are public unless the government, the Assembly's president, or ten of its members request a secret session. Resolutions of the Assembly must be passed by an absolute

majority of those present (or a qualified majority in some cases). A simple majority of the membership constitutes a quorum. No draft law may be considered by the Assembly before it has been reported on by a committee; no law can be promulgated unless passed by the Assembly. A bill proposed by a member and rejected by the Assembly can not be reintroduced at the same session.

The Assembly enacts its own rules of procedure and, through its president, is responsible for its own internal order. No armed force may enter the Assembly or be stationed near its doors except at the request of its president. While cabinet ministers may not vote in the Assembly unless they are members, they have the right to be heard, and are obliged to attend sessions if the Assembly desires and to answer interpellations, given seven days' notice.

While no member of the Assembly may intervene in activities falling within the competence of the executive or judicial branches, the Assembly may express its wishes or make proposals to the government, it may exercise control of the activities of the executive in the manner prescribed in the constitution, and its approval is required for the government to contract a loan or encumber future revenues. Ten members of the Assembly may request the scheduling of a matter of public interest for debate.

The basic rules and procedures for the collection and expenditure of public funds and the disposition of public properties are to be prescribed by law. Monopolies may be granted only by law, and for a specified period. The Assembly must receive the draft budget at least three months before the end of the fiscal year. It is voted upon chapter by chapter. It may not be amended by the Assembly except with the government's consent, but the consent of the Assembly is required for any divergence from the budget. The Assembly also approves the state's final accounts.

While the Assembly is in session, no

member may be prosecuted under the criminal code except in cases of *flagrante delicto*. In the Assembly or its committees members have complete freedom of expression. They can only be deprived of membership by a two-thirds' vote of the Assembly on the proposal of ten members. Members may not be appointed as directors of companies during their term of office, except as provided by law, they may not accept decorations except in connection with their public duties and they may neither purchase or rent property from the state nor lease or sell property to the state.

#### *Chapter Four, Part 3—The Executive*

Under Article 119, the President of the Republic assumes the executive authority and exercises it as provided in the constitution.

#### *Section 1—The President of the Republic*

The President of the Republic must be an Egyptian over 35 (Gregorian), born of Egyptian parents and grandparents, who enjoys his civil and political rights and is not related to the former ruling family. He serves for 6 years, and is chosen by nomination by the National Assembly followed by a referendum. If a candidate fails of an absolute majority in the referendum, the procedure is repeated with another nominee. The procedure for the selection of a new President must begin 60 days before the expiration of the term of the old, and should be concluded a week before that expiration. Failing such a selection, the previous President remains in office. If the President is temporarily prevented from exercising his functions, he shall deputize a minister in his place, after securing the approval of the National Assembly. Should the President vacate his office for any reason, the National Assembly shall declare the office vacant, and the president of the National Assembly shall temporarily assume the Presidency. A new President shall be elected within 60 days.

Like the assemblymen's salary, the President's salary is to be fixed by law; changes in the President's salary do not affect the President during whose term such change is enacted. During his tenure in office the President may not engage in a profession or private business, nor may he purchase or rent property from the state or sell or lease property to the state.

Impeachment of the President for high treason or failure to uphold the republican system of government requires a motion submitted by at least one-third of the Assembly and passed by a two-thirds majority. With the passage of the motion the President is suspended from office and sent to trial before a special court, as prescribed by law. If adjudged guilty, he is permanently deprived of office, without prejudice to other penalties.

The President has the right to propose, veto, and promulgate laws. The Assembly may overrule his veto by a two-thirds vote. In collaboration with his ministers, the President lays down general policy and supervises its execution. Between sessions of the Assembly he may issue recess decrees which have the force of law but require the confirmation of the Assembly within 15 days of its reconvening. The Assembly may in special circumstances delegate the law-making power to the President.

The President is the supreme commander of the armed forces. He appoints and dismisses civil, diplomatic, and military officials, has the right to issue pardons and commute sentences, declares war with the consent of the National Assembly, concludes treaties which become law after approval of the Assembly, declares a state of emergency subject to the approval of the Assembly within 15 days or at its next sitting, and has the right, after consulting the Assembly, to take major issues to the people by referendum.

#### *Section 2—The Ministers*

The ministers are appointed and dismissed by the President. Should his term

end they remain in office until a successor has been elected. The President meets with the ministers in a Council of Ministers.

Ministers must be at least 30 years of age. Like the President and the assemblymen, they are restricted from private enterprise while in office. The Assembly may impeach a minister by a two-thirds majority. The President may appoint ministers of state and deputy ministers. Any minister or deputy minister may also be a member of the Assembly. Members of the Assembly may be appointed representatives of the ministries for the affairs of the Assembly, in the manner determined by law.

#### *Section 3—Local Administration*

Articles 157 to 166 deal with the subject of the administrative entities into which the Egyptian Republic is divided. Some or all may have a juridical personality. Those which do are represented by an elected council, which may also have appointed members. These bodies may supervise the collection of local taxes and the administration of local economic, social, cultural, and public health programs. The President of the Republic may dissolve the representative councils. The law shall provide for the composition of an interim body during the period of dissolution.

#### *Section 4—National Defense*

##### A. National Defense Council

A body called the National Defense Council shall be formed to assume the responsibility for the security of the state. The President of the Republic shall preside over its meetings.

##### B. The Armed Forces

The state alone shall maintain armed forces; no other organization or association may establish military or para-military formations. The state shall also regulate the

military training of its youth and the organization of the National Guard.

#### *Chapter Four—The Judiciary*

This chapter is composed of Articles 175 to 183. They provide for an independent judiciary. Article 183 provides for the establishment of military courts whose composition and function are to be determined by law.

#### *Chapter Five—General Provisions*

The eight articles in this chapter designate the capital (Cairo), and deal with the flag, amendment of the constitution, and other general considerations. Laws are to be published in the Official Journal within two weeks of their promulgation. They take effect 10 days after publication, and will not have retroactive effect. Article 188 prescribes a two-thirds vote for laws relative to the composition of or membership in the National Assembly, the granting of concessions, the drafting and submission of the budget, conflict of interest, impeachment, declaration of a state of emergency, and the referendum.

Either the President of the Republic or one-third of the membership of the National Assembly may request an amendment to the Constitution. If the Assembly by majority vote accepts the amendment in principle, six months must elapse before the Assembly can vote on the actual text. If two-thirds of the Assembly approve the text, it is submitted to a referendum, and becomes effective as soon as it is approved by the electorate.

All laws, decrees, orders, regulations, and decisions enacted by the regime shall remain in effect. They may be revoked or amended in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Constitution, with the exception that no decree, law, or act of the RCC or any agency under its auspices may be annulled, and no one may question its validity or seek compensation for its effects.

#### *Chapter Six—Transitional and Final Provisions*

Article 192 provides that the people of Egypt shall form a National Union (*ittihād qawmi*) which will undertake the development of the state and make the nominations for membership in the National Assembly. The President of the Republic shall proclaim by decree the manner in which the National Union shall be constituted.

### **FROM MONARCHY TO REPUBLIC**

The 1956 constitution is an index of the rapidity of Egypt's political evolution since the promulgation of the Constitution of 1923. The differences between the two documents far outweigh the similarities, not only in the machinery of government but more fundamentally in the realm of political theory. Solemn recognition of the principle of Arab nationalism is in profound contrast to Egypt's centuries-old consciousness of national identity. The state's assumption of responsibility for the physical, moral, and economic welfare of its citizens, in line with the general trend in post-World War II European and Arab constitutions, is barely foreshadowed in the Constitution of 1923. The provision for a powerful chief executive, with a direct line of communication with the people through the National Union, is symptomatic of the RCC's view that purposeful leadership is needed to transform Egypt into a truly modern state.

The closest point of comparison between the two constitutions is the matter of civil rights. Chapter Three of the 1956 draft follows the content of Title Two of the Constitution of 1923. Here the comparison virtually ends. Whereas the Constitution of 1923 was the answer to a growing demand for Egypt's recognition as an independent state, the new law has been drafted to meet more specific complaints—complaints which had developed in the light of Egypt's first thirty years' experience with independence

and were finally stated by the RCC in the form of the six objectives of the Egyptian revolution.

Objective number one—the abolition of imperialism—has encouraged the concept of the Arab nation since, to the Arabs, the fight for independence has pointed up the disadvantages of parochialism. Whatever forces for particularism and isolation may remain in Egypt, they are being overridden by the consciousness of a world-wide trend toward association of states. Given the Arabs' many common cultural factors, this trend is particularly strong in their case.

The draft constitution pursues the second objective—abolition of "feudalism"—with characteristic directness. Under Article 12 the law will limit the extent of private ownership of agricultural land so as to discourage large absentee ownership. Egypt's new land laws, like all the acts of the RCC, will continue in force, but Article 12 serves as a reaffirmation of the regime's inflexibility towards feudalism.

Less clearly stated is objective number three—the abolition of monopoly and the control of capitalism over government. While references to a planned national economy, the employment of capital in the interests of that economy, state ownership of natural wealth, and the encouragement of cooperative activity raise the possibility of nationalization of some industries, there are modifying provisions that guarantee private property and the right of private economic activity, provide measures for the protection of small agricultural holdings, and encourage saving.

A large segment of the new constitution is given over to the matter of social justice—the fourth objective of the Egyptian revolution. Here are many analogies with the Syrian constitutions of 1950 and 1953. These include clauses on labor organization, fair employment, the family as the cornerstone of society, and the responsibility of the state for the welfare of its inhabitants. Many advanced ideas on these matters, while current in Egypt before 1950,

were first embodied in a Middle Eastern constitution by Syria.

Objective number five—a strong army—implies a break with the past not only in the size of the army but also in its character. Article 58, which establishes the defense of the country as a sacred duty, and makes military service compulsory in accordance with the law, is believed to indicate a new philosophy of patriotism, in which there will be no room for the traditional practice of permitting potential conscripts to buy their release. The new Egyptian army is further defined as the only military force in the state. No longer will private organizations be permitted to maintain paramilitary units.

Objective number six—the establishment of a sound democracy—raises the issue of the structure of government, an issue to which most of the provisions of the draft constitution are directed. The abolition of the 1923 Constitution late in 1952 and the proclamation of the three-year Transitional Period were not the beginning of the Egyptians' struggle to assume greater control of their destiny, and it is not the end. Egypt's tradition of autocracy has its origin in prehistory. Tempered only slightly by the democratic aspects of Islam (which the draft constitution confirms as the state religion), it continued to overshadow Egyptian affairs down to the end of the Muhammad 'Ali dynasty, despite the establishment of a limited monarchy in 1923.

While establishing a parliamentary regime with ministerial responsibility, the RCC has provided for a powerful chief executive. The regime will be bulwarked by a national political organization, the National Union, for which the constitution itself provides a specific basis. Any detailed discussion of this body would be premature, since this is written before the election of a President.

In this connection, however, one is reminded of the early Syrian and Lebanese experience in parliamentary government. As Edmond Rabbath wrote in the *Revue*

*Egyptienne de Droit International* in 1947, when a people is predisposed by its past to accept the incarnation of power in one man, the executive branch of its government is likely to exercise more influence on affairs of state than the organic law in theory prescribes. There is no reason to believe that the Egyptian republic will in its early years diverge from this rule.

It is assumed from recent comment in the

Cairo press that a National Assembly of 300-350 members will convene in Cairo in late summer and begin work on the large body of implementing legislation—some of it already drafted—for the new constitutional machinery of the Republic of Egypt.

◆ This study of the new Egyptian Constitution is the work of Curtis F. Jones, a research specialist on Egypt.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Egyptian Arabic Studies

Richard S. Harrell

No fully satisfactory analysis of colloquial Egyptian Arabic has been done. The real answer to the needs of the student and/or researcher is research, not bibliography. However, a review of the material available should prove helpful, both to the professional linguist and to the layman.<sup>1</sup>

By "colloquial Egyptian Arabic" is meant specifically the speech of the sedentary population of the lower Nile valley. Practically, this means a limitation to the delta, since little work has been done on the speech of Upper Egypt. Even for the delta area, almost all work is based on the speech of Cairo. Bedouin speech has not been considered.

The number of works devoted to Egyptian Arabic is not large compared to the bibliographies of many languages. Syrian Arabic, for example, has had more material devoted to it. Unfortunately, of the limited number of Egyptian Arabic studies, many are of poor quality. The list that follows is correspondingly selective.

#### *General and Comparative Studies*

These are almost non-existent. I know only one of pertinent interest: Harris Birke-

<sup>1</sup> The present bibliography is a companion piece to the article "Syrian Arabic Studies" (*MEJ* 9 (1955) 187-194) by Charles A. Ferguson, and the classification and system of reference of that article have been adopted here. Dr. Ferguson suggested this study and has contributed significantly to both its form and content, but the final text is my own doing, and he is not to be held accountable for any of its errors.

◆ RICHARD SLADE HARRELL is a graduate student in linguistics at Harvard University, now completing his doctoral dissertation on the phonology of colloquial Egyptian Arabic. During the academic year 1954-55 he was in Egypt on a Fullbright "team" of American scholars in the field of linguistics and English teaching.

land, *Growth and Structure of the Egyptian Arabic Dialect* (3).<sup>2</sup> Birkeland's work is little more than a brief sketch, devoted mainly to the thesis that the vocabulary of modern Egyptian developed from pausal forms of the *koine*. I am not personally competent to pass on the quality of his historical conclusions; in any event this little book is really more a program than a full exposition. The descriptive comments on the phonology of modern Egyptian are too incomplete to be convincing.

#### *Dictionaries*

There must be at least a hundred dictionaries of "colloquial" Egyptian Arabic in various languages. Most of them are of little value. The most general fault of these dictionaries is a failure to distinguish clearly between colloquial speech and the literary language; this distinction is a vital one for all Arabic dialects. There follows commentary on three works.

Spiro's dictionaries (26, 27) are the most well known, and the best. The English-Arabic volume inconsistently uses the symbol *y* for both long *i* and the consonant *y*. A greater fault is that necessary grammatical information such as the imperfect of the verbs is not given. The Arabic-English volume is arranged in alphabetical order according to the Arabic alphabet. Transcription is given only for the item of entry, not for any of the derivations cited. This can be confusing to any one who does not already know Egyptian very thoroughly indeed. One helpful feature, though, is that noun and adjective derivatives of the verbal roots are listed alphabetically as separate words. These books have rendered valuable

<sup>2</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the full bibliographic listing at the end of the article.

service since they first came out in the 1890's; a new edition of both would be a happy event.

After Spiro, there is Edward E. Elias's *Practical Dictionary* (9). The vocabulary is not purely Egyptian, and to worsen matters there is no consistent labeling of what is Egyptian, what Syrian, etc. Other faults are that the Latin transcription (Arabic characters are not used) is neither overly good nor overly consistent, and the introductory guide to pronunciation is guilty of phonetic naiveté. But the book has many practical advantages. It is readily available. It is genuinely colloquial in material, and its size makes it easy to carry about in one's daily wanderings. The author found it a tower of strength during his stay in Egypt; almost never did it fail to yield a needed word. The cost is only 35 Egyptian piastres.

Athanasius' *Medical Phrasebook* (2) should be of great value to a physician in Egypt. In addition to extensive, topically arranged word lists, there are model dialogs covering a wide range of doctor-patient relationships. This reviewer is in no position to judge the accuracy of a medical vocabulary in Arabic, English, or any other language, but the book seems to have been quite thoroughly and carefully done.

#### *Descriptive Works*

We are fortunate in having two first-class descriptive grammars of Egyptian Arabic. We are doubly fortunate that they were written with different aims and thus complement rather than repeat each other. Spitta's *Grammatik* (29) is written from the viewpoint of the professional Arabist. It presupposes a knowledge of Classical Arabic and consistently draws parallels between the classical and the colloquial. It is purely descriptive and comparative and makes no pedagogical concessions. The beginner, therefore, is likely to find it quite unintelligible. But I know of few grammars of any language which are more carefully and honestly written. The faults of the book are almost entirely the faults of the age in

which it was written; there is no mention of prosodic features such as juncture and intonation, and no clear line is drawn between phonemics and phonetics. Beyond this, the book is well observed and comprehensive. Spitta's preface also provides an accurate model of how objectively linguistic research should be conducted. Another source of satisfaction for the reader is that the book has a meticulously thorough table of contents. An article by Karl Vollers (30) includes a complete review of Spitta's *Grammatik*.

Willmore's *Spoken Arabic* (34) is entirely descriptive, presupposes no knowledge of Arabic, and makes no use of the Arabic script. The discussion of the phonology is less convincing than Spitta's, although obviously based on a thorough familiarity with the realities of Egyptian Arabic pronunciation. The sections on grammar and syntax are written with a minuteness of detail and fullness of illustrative examples that surpass even Spitta. Such excellence leaves the reader the more disappointed that the book has no table of contents and an insufficiently detailed index.

The book also has a pedagogical aspect. Each section is accompanied by a vocabulary and exercises. Some of the exercise material is impractical, with such sentences as "The shoemaker, who was in the garden yesterday, is taller than the fruiterer who brought the apples and the pears to the house." (Of course, they're not all this bad!) The second and third editions<sup>3</sup> have full glossaries for the exercises and a key to the exercises on syntax. Despite its various difficulties, the book is a valuable one to have, and the student should find it useful, especially if he has an Egyptian to help him. Two final comments: Firstly, Willmore's *Handbook* (33), an abridgment for pedagogical purposes, should not be confused with the full grammar. Secondly, Guest's review (16) of Willmore should be read only in conjunction with Willmore's

<sup>3</sup> The third edition, 1919, is in reality merely a reprint of the second edition of 1905.

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rebuttal in the preface to the second edition. Some of Guest's criticisms are well taken, but many are picayune and superficial.

In addition to these two grammars, there are several special studies. The most well known is Gairdner's *Phonetics* (13). This work is primarily a consideration of the pronunciation of classical Arabic with appended comments on the Egyptian colloquial. Considering the amount of labor lavished upon it, the book is disappointing. There are numerous errors of detail, both of commission and omission, and some of the impressionistic, metaphorical descriptions of sounds are unacceptable from the point of view of current linguistic knowledge. For example: P. 40, "When i: or i is preceded by a velarized consonant there is no perceptible modification of the vowel . . ." Perhaps this was so for the speaker with whom Gairdner was working (although I doubt even that, since Spitta notes a vowel modification as far back as 1882); it is certainly not so for present day Egyptian Arabic. Again, compare his description of the 'ayn, pp. 28-29, with the cool, clear factuality of Wallin (pp. 42-44) written 75 years earlier.

This reviewer must reluctantly conclude that Gairdner's *Phonetics* does not fully live up to its great reputation. However, it has served the function of giving many western linguists a valuable knowledge of Arabic pronunciation, which they might otherwise have missed.

Finally, there are some articles which deserve mention. Prime among them is G. A. Wallin, "Ueber die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung" (32), mentioned above. While it is not especially devoted to the Egyptian dialect, this article repays reading. It is a refreshing example of careful, scholarly sobriety. The reader has already been invited to compare Wallin with Gairdner.

Lane's article, "Ueber die Aussprache der arabischen Vocale und die Betonung der arabischen Wörter" (20), is based mainly

on the Egyptian dialect; it is inferior to Wallin's, both in clarity and in accuracy of observation. Spitta's later critique (in the preface of the *Grammatik*) of Lane, that his "English ear" deceived him in hearing the sounds of Arabic, is quite just.

Nyberg's article on the pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic (23) is unfortunate. For reasons too technical to be gone into here, this author cannot accept the accuracy of Nyberg's observations on stress, vowel length, and gemination in Egyptian Arabic.

In addition to the above mentioned works, I know of several theses on colloquial Egyptian Arabic, done by Egyptian students under Professor J. R. Firth at the School of Oriental Studies, London University. Unfortunately, I have not had an opportunity to see these.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Textbooks*

Of the many guides, manuals, handbooks, and "traveller's companions" which have appeared, there is only one which can be recommended: T. F. Mitchell's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (21), which unfortunately exists only in mimeographed form as yet. This book is so far superior to all other textbooks that have appeared to date that the student should settle for no other if at all possible. It contains a serviceable phonological description and an excellent Latin-characters transcription. And, rarity of rarities, the author shows pedagogical good sense. The lessons are simply presented and carefully graded, both as to grammatical content and as to vocabulary. It is to be hoped that the book will soon be published. The book exists in two recensions, the second of which is considerably revised and is preferable to the first.

The Linguaphone course (18) consists of four parts: 1. A case of 16 double faced 78 rpm phonograph records containing model conversations. 2. The text of the conversations in Arabic script. 3. A text in French. 4. A text in English. The text in Arabic script has a brief introductory description,

\* See Addenda to List of Titles.

in French, of the Arabic alphabet. The French text contains a transcription of the conversations in Latin characters, a literal French translation of the conversation, and, finally, a free translation into French. Unfortunately, the transliteration is poor and often grossly misrepresents the pronunciation. In addition, the text sometimes differs from the records. The English text has both literal and free translations of the conversations, but not the transliterated Arabic. Both English and French texts contain brief descriptions of pronunciation. Neither text attempts grammatical exposition.

The sketchiness of overt explanation in the texts is deliberate and in line with the basic idea of the course, which emphasizes the oral-aural approach. The heart of the course is the records. Considering the limits imposed by a playing time of approximately 90 minutes, the conversations cover a wide range of subjects. Anyone who masters these model conversations will have acquired a very good foundation in Egyptian Arabic. Acoustic fidelity of the records is not consistent. Some lessons come out quite clearly, others are fuzzy. Of existing materials, the best tool for learning Egyptian colloquial would be a combination of Linguaphone, Mitchell's textbook, and the services of a native speaker.

It is an ungracious task to have to subject Gairdner's famous *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (12) to criticism. This book has done valuable service since it first appeared in 1917. It has become almost a tradition at the American University in Cairo, and its use there has contributed greatly to popularizing and dignifying the study of the colloquial language. This reviewer pronounces his adverse judgment regretfully. The transcription used is poor; the vocabulary and conversational material are impractical and poorly arranged; and—finally—the book is designed for use with a native speaker; the combination of these factors leaves the solitary student effectively devastated. Added to the above mentioned draw-

backs, Gairdner's work by now has a distinctly old-fashioned flavor. If the student wishes to use this work, he should pay attention to the different editions. The third edition, revised by E. E. Elder, is a mere shadow of the original book (102 v. 300 pp.). The first edition is better in every respect. It has a greater wealth of illustrative material, more detailed explanations, and is better printed in the bargain.

Nallino's manual (22), like most of the other textbooks available, is poor in its phonological explanations. For a language with a phonology so radically different from European languages, this is a crucial failing in a book directed to Westerners. Also the vocabulary and dialogs have been rendered obsolete to some extent by the enormous social and material changes in Egypt since the work was published. Despite these failings, the student might still find the book useful, especially if he has an Egyptian to help him with the pronunciation. Vollers' *Lehrbuch* (31), although not bad, has nothing outstanding to recommend it except that it was one of the earliest serious attempts at a pedagogical grammar of Egyptian colloquial.

Other books are worth much less than the ones mentioned. The dialect mixture of O'Leary's *Colloquial Arabic* (24) should be avoided. Also to be avoided are Green's *Practical Arabic Grammar* (15) and Phillott and Powell's *Manual of Egyptian Arabic* (25), which are mentioned only because they are so frequently met with. These books commit the standard fault of confusing the official written language and colloquial speech. A student of the colloquial will be misled by these works, and a student of the classical is advised to turn to a standard classical grammar.

It would not be fair to pass on to the next section without mentioning the versatile Daniel Willard Fiske. Mr. Fiske wrote such varied things as *Chess in Iceland*, "A bibliography of the Dante collection of the library of Cornell University," and *Agrûmyja maṣry maktûba bil lisân el*

*maṣry*. This last work is a primer for native speakers of Egyptian Arabic, written in Latin characters with the transcription system of Spitta. For a brief history of Fiske's one-man crusade to make colloquial Egyptian a written language (in Latin characters, of course) and simultaneously teach all the people of Egypt to read and write, the readers should consult the preface of Nallino's grammar. Two of Fiske's works (10, 11) are listed in the final bibliography attached to this study; for those interested in pursuing this fascinating bit of sociolinguistic history further, Harvard's Widener Library and the New York Public Library have a number of his works, plus a fair sized collection of the pamphlets, cards, letters, etc. which he had printed for propaganda purposes.

#### *Collections of Texts*<sup>5</sup>

All collections of texts available are subject to the same grim question: How truly colloquial is the material presented? This reviewer has a suspicion that a truly colloquial collection of texts is possible only with a concealed recording machine and a speaker who isn't aware that he is being recorded. These conditions are hard to come by; in the past they were impossible. These

<sup>5</sup> Only edited texts have been considered here. No attempt has been made to cover literary productions in the colloquial.

limitations should be kept in mind when one is considering collections of texts.

The two best collections are Spitta's *Contes arabes modernes* (28) and Elder's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic Reader* (8). Spitta's is the better; unfortunately, his glossary is given in Arabic script, although the texts are given in the transcription described in the *Grammatik*; on the whole it is quite satisfactory. The texts are accompanied by translations. Elder's book offers some new material and some repetitions from Spitta. The transcription employed is that of Gairdner. Elder excuses himself from the task of presenting his reader with a glossary by referring to Spiro's dictionary. Also, there are no translations.

The only other extensive collections of texts are given in Arabic characters without vowel signs or transcription, and often without translations. The lack of vowel signs robs a colloquial text of all value except for vocabulary items. The collections of Al-Alati (1), Bouriant (4), Burckhardt (5), Dulac (6, 7), Hanki (17), and Landberg (19) all suffer from this lack of vowel signs. Other collections offer only a limited amount of material.

Green's *Modern Arabic Stories, Ballads, Proverbs, and Idioms* (14) consists almost entirely of copies from Spitta, Dulac, and Spiro's dictionary. In addition, he has redone Spitta's transcription into his own, which is considerably inferior.

#### *List of Titles Referred to in Text*

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2. Athanasius, Atallah. *A medical phrasebook and vocabulary in English and Arabic* (AUC, Oriental Studies). Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1954. pp. 195.
3. Birkeland, Harris. *Growth and structure of the Egyptian Arabic dialect*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1952. (Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps Akademi i Oslo: II. Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1952, No. 2). pp. 57.
4. Bouriant, M. Urbain. *Chansons populaires arabes en dialecte du Caire d'après les manuscrits d'un chanteur des rues*. Paris: Librairie de la société asiatique de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, 1893. pp. 60.
5. Burckhardt, John Lewis. *Arabic proverbs*. London: 2nd ed. 1875.
6. Dulac, H. "Contes arabes en dialecte de la Haute-Egypte," *Journal Asiatique* VIII<sup>e</sup> série, t. 5, Paris: 1885. pp. 5-38.

7. ——. *Contes arabes modernes*. (Mém. publ. par les membres de la mission archéologique au Caire, tome I, Paris: 1889. pp. 55-112).
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  15. ——. *Practical Arabic grammar*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 2 vols. Vol. I, 2nd ed. 1887; vol. II, 3rd ed. 1893.
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  17. Hanki, Joseph. *A collection of modern Egyptian proverbs*. Cairo: al-Baian Printing Office, 1897. pp. 133.
  18. Heyworth-Dunne, John, editor. *Spoken Egyptian Arabic*. Linguaphone Institute, Rockefeller Plaza, New York.
  19. Landberg, Carlo de. *Básim le forgeron et Hárún er-Rachid*. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1888. pp. xvii, 87, 116.
  20. Lane, E. W. "Ueber die Aussprache der arabischen Vocale und die Betonung der arabischen Woerter" ZDMG, vol. IV, pp. 171-186. Leipzig 1850.
  21. Mitchell, T. F. *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. Cairo: mimeographed, 1954 (?).
  22. Nallino, Carlo A. *L'arabo parlato in egitto*. Milano: Hoepli, 2nd ed. 1913. pp. xxvi, 531.
  23. Nyberg, H. S. "Quelques remarques sur la prononciation de l'arabe parlé en Egypte," *Monde Oriental*, vol. 31, 1937. pp. 42-48.
  24. O'Leary, De Lacy. *Colloquial Arabic*. New York: E. P. Sutton and Co. 6th ed. no date (author's preface, 1925). pp. xviii, 192.
  25. Phillott, Douglas C. and A. Powell. *Manual of Egyptian Arabic*. Cairo: published by the authors 1926. pp. xxxiv, 911.
  26. Spiro Bey, Socrates. *An English-Arabic vocabulary of the modern and colloquial Arabic of Egypt*. Cairo: 3rd ed. 1929. pp. xvi, 325.
  27. ——. *Arabic-English dictionary of the modern Arabic of Egypt*. Cairo: Elias Modern Press, 2nd ed. 1923. pp. xvi, 661.
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  30. Vollers, Karl. "Beitraege zur Kenntniss der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Aegypten" ZDMG, vol. XLI, 1887. pp. 365-402.
  31. ——. *Lehrbuch der aegyptoarabischen Umgangssprache mit Uebungen und Glossar*. Cairo: 1890. pp. xi, 231. (English translation by F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge, 1895).
  32. Wallin, G. A. "Ueber die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung," ZDMG, vol. IX, 1855. pp. 1-69; vol. XII, 1858, pp. 599-655.
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  5. Kamel, N. *Political Jargon in Contemporary Egypt*. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1953.

## GENERAL

**UNITY AND VARIETY IN MUSLIM CIVILIZATION**, edited by Gustave E. von Grunebaum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. 364 pages, index. \$6.00.

*Reviewed by Kenneth Cragg*

This finely produced volume aims to portray the unity and variety of Islamic culture and reflects at the same time the unity and variety of a single academic conference. The result is a fine compendium for the student and a near nightmare for the reviewer. Sixteen experts from nine countries are variety enough. The "unity" derives from their common interest in the question: how is Muslim civilization related to the local cultures over which it came to predominate?

Perhaps we may begin with the cavils. Professor Duchesne-Guillemin, Secretary of the Conference and author of the introductory paper, "How Does Islam Stand?" refers to the interpenetration of Islam and Tropical African custom and life as an "inextricable mixture." The same is true in part of this volume. Professor Grunebaum's editorial problems must have been immense and he is to be congratulated that the readability is as high as it is, especially since the Conference functioned in three languages. Nevertheless there are infelicities of style and a tendency in places to over-generalization and theorizing. What are we to make of "the specificity of Islam"? (page 7). We learn (page 12) that "the only positive element" in the Islam of the Near East is represented by the Muslim Brotherhood. Of Turkey, it is said: "The most modern—and the most stable—Islamic state is also the least Muslim." (page 3). Again, "the basis of Islamic literature is also not Muslim." All these are statements that betray either neglect of academic duty or an overconfidence in academic dicta. All appear in the introductory article, which is commended as "a good guide to the reader." The surprising claim that in this

century in Islam "historical criticism tackled the divine revelation" is surely an overstatement. There may also be a certain tendency to evaluate all things in the volume from Western criteria.

There are, again, some highly serious omissions. In the important section on Regional Evolutions—the heart of the book—there is no direct treatment of Indian and Pakistani Islam, where some of the most significant of all inter-penetrations lie. Pakistan appears only six times in the index and on all but one of the occasions the reference is peripheral. Supposedly conferences and volumes must have limits somewhere and with a title as hospitable as this one few things can be irrelevant.

The first of the four main parts of the work presents "Islam as Religion and Civilization", with Professors Grunebaum, Fritz Meier, and Robert Brunschwig. The editor's paper states and illustrates the theme of unity in diversity. He traces the relation of the "universal" to the "provincial" in the Islamic world and examines the clues of how Islam shaped its original Arab context into the interpretation of its wider impacts. "The medieval Muslim was himself keenly alive to the regional variations of his civilization", and reflections from medieval writers help to clarify conflict, coexistence and interaction. There is, however, a certain tendency to over-abstraction in these three papers.

Four illuminating papers are gathered into the next part on "Modes of Expression of the Cultural Tradition." Joseph Schacht deals with Law, Francesco Gabrieli with Literary Tendencies, Richard Ettinghausen with Islamic Art and Claude Cahen with The Body Politic. The section on art is embellished with a number of plates. The author lays valuable stress on the phenomenon of migratory or refugee artists and their part in the integration of Islamic mosque architecture and adornment. The second and fourth of these chapters end too soon in the historical sequence. That on Literature sets the modern phase of Mus-

lim literature outside its limits and deplores how "the *dar al-Islam* has dissolved into touchy nationalisms." That on Politics brings the analysis down to the origins of the Ottoman Empire, concluding that "in reality there was no Islamic political doctrine. There was a vague but fervent aspiration, more and more external to the actual states." (page 157). It would certainly have been profitable to relate just this issue to the 20th century political travail of Islam, since the capacity of the essentially Islamic element (not to speak of its definition) to inform the whole polity of Muslim peoples in their new era of self-responsibility is precisely the most fascinating and searching test of the entire conference.

Next come the regional surveys, where Professors B. Spuler, V. Minorsky, A. Abel, R. Le Tourneau, J. N. D. Anderson, G. W. J. Drewes, and Bernard Lewis deal respectively with Iran (Spuler and Minorsky), Spain, North Africa, Tropical Africa, Indonesia, and Turkey. Here we move inevitably and properly into the *variety* theme of the conference, if only by virtue of the organizational transition from law, literature, art and politics as elements in a universal order, to the geographically separated histories. It is perhaps significant that in a final remark, closing the discussion of the paper on Turkey, the Editor refers to "the enormous masses of material with which Islamists have to cope." For the ramifications of these area papers are endless, and far beyond the competence of any single reviewer. They are somewhat uneven in respect to documentation and bibliography, that on Indonesia being entirely devoid of such apparatus—where perhaps we need it most of all. The writings of Malek Bennabi might have had more than the cursory mention given in the North African discussion.

Professor Werner Caskel condenses into fourteen pages the whole vast issue of Islam and Western modernity. He takes up in turn The State, Society, Economy, and Religion, but with painful brevity. The con-

temporary, it would seem, is treated rather as an epilogue than as a theme. Without discussing the wide potential significance of the Ahmadiyyah movements, the author quotes from the latest volume of the *Islamic Review*, showing "an abundance of articles that ask for economic and social reforms." This brief allusion is in no sense an appraisal of "what is involved today in the fact of being Muslim." Apart from a brief examination of the *Ikhwan al-Muslimun* (to January 1952) this final chapter fails to do justice to the immediate varieties within the 20th century "unity" of Islam.

Every student of this volume will be grateful for its wealth of fact and insight, and its theme is certainly academically valid. But perhaps in the end this theme does not offer the most satisfying approach. Nor are we greatly enamoured of the suggestion (page 330) that another conference might inquire "into the notion of decadence and stagnation as applied to Muslim history." For the ultimately significant thing in Islam is the Muslim. As Professor Grunebaum remarks at the close of his own contribution, the individual believer is the most influential of the factors in Islam's relations with its context of local culture. In raising the question of "what is involved in the fact of being Muslim" this volume and the conference which produced it have been soundly inspired. But the unity-variety tack is perhaps not the best way to proceed, unless we are ready to concede that every piece of validly Muslim diversity is its own unity.

◆ KENNETH CRAGG is editor of *The Muslim World*.

**THE ORDER OF ASSASSINS**, by Marshall G. S. Hodgson. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1955. 278 pages; no price indicated.

*Reviewed by William Popper*

Hodgson's elaborate work is a history and description of a minority Shi'ite sect of the Near East, the Nizaris, or more familiarly "Assassins", who between 1090 and

1256 A.D. had an effect on contemporary events far greater than their numbers would imply. They made particular use of assassination rather than organized warfare to defend their beliefs and attempt to propagate them in a hostile world. By assassination they disposed of hostile military leaders, civil or religious officials who opposed their teachings or incited against them the population among whom they worked, or individuals who had learned of their secret doctrines and might betray them.

The word actually used in the sources to denote an assassin is *fida'i* (later *fidawi*), literally "one who offers himself to save a cause." Hodgson, without pressing the point, raises the question whether assassination, used against individual key enemies, may not actually be more humane and justifiable than mass attacks by huge armies involving the lives of many people.

Assassination was one of the methods by which the Nizari Shi'ites attempted to maintain their independent community in a hostile world, that of the dominant Orthodox Sunnite Seljuq Turks. Their community came into being at the end of Mustansir's reign (1035-1094). Mustansir had named his son Nizar as his successor in the imamate-Caliphate, but Badr al-Jamali, his chief military commander, deposed Nizar in favor of another son, who became Caliph as al-Musta'li. Nizar fled from Cairo; he and his family found supporters among the Iranian Isma'ilis, and together they broke away from the Egyptian imamate and formed an independent Nizari *da'wa* (literally "summons", i.e. to the support of an imam). However, the foundation of an independent Nizari state as separate from Fatimid Isma'ilism is bound up with the history and character of Hasan i-Sabah, rather than Nizar himself. Hasan was long known to students of the Near East as the infamous Shaykh al-Jabal, the "Old Man of the Mountain." In the portrait that emerges from Hodgson's researches, Hasan loses some of the terror he inspired in his

adversaries, but becomes more interesting because of his other activities, both political and literary.

Hasan was a convert to Isma'ilism, and about 1070 was appointed deputy *da'i* (Propagandist) of that sect. He had many men under his orders, and they spent much time searching for a headquarters for him. In 1090 he chose Alamut, and directed its conversion. Nizari activity was soon extended from Alamut through the seizure, conversion or purchase of other powerful positions in Seljuq territory.

Hasan in Alamut stands out as a figure striking in intensity and rigor. He maintained strict discipline and punished dissoluteness severely. His writings were characterized by an intense and severe logic. The unique Nizari state largely owed its existence to his energy.

The Nizari state lasted practically intact for more than 150 years. In that time there were eight masters of Alamut. Hodgson divides them into three groups, approximating the divisions of Nizari history. The first group includes Hasan himself (1090-1124), Buzurg-'ummid (1124-1138), who had once captured a fortress for him, and the latter's son, Muhammad I (1138-1162). The authority of these three rulers, who were not themselves imams, was established by Hasan i-Sabah in a series of dialectic propositions which are carefully analyzed by Hodgson.

The second period of Nizari history includes the reigns of Hasan II (1162-1166) and Muhammad II (1166-1210). A decided change took place in the Nizari state during this period, for the leaders were recognized as imams. Hasan II, though not a descendant of 'Ali and only the designated heir-apparent of Muhammad ibn Buzurg-'ummid, was able through force of personality to proclaim himself imam as well as Caliph, and his son Muhammad II inherited the titles.

Hasan II boldly declared the end of the *Shari'a*, the ritual law, and proclaimed in its place the *Qiyama*, the resurrection of

the dead. Those who accepted his role as the Judge of the Resurrection were to be raised to immortality.

The imaginative appeal of the Qiyama doctrine was such that, though in modified form, it was promulgated even in Syria, where the Isma'ilis began to accept the leadership of Alamut over that of Cairo.

The third period of Nizari history covers the reigns of Hasan III (1210-1221), Muhammad III (1221-1255), and finally Khwurshah (1255-1286). Hodgson calls these rulers "Imams of the Satr" ("Occultation"), or concealment of the imam, who in the period of the Qiyama had been visible to all, though his true status was known only to the initiated. Actually the Satr represented a new interpretation of Nizari doctrine, an agreement with Sunnism, in which imams ruled not as God on earth but as heads of a worldly community who reestablished the Shari'a, the younger generation being taught again to fulfil the ritual duties of Sunnism.

The Mongols in their goal of world conquest made one of their earliest aims the destruction of all Isma'ilis. In 1255-56 the almost impregnable Alamut fell; long before this Saladin had defeated the Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt and restored the political authority of Sunnism there.

Hodgson's work contains a wealth of detail, which he has explored in his careful and minute reappraisal of older and hitherto unused sources. His book is not one for digestion at a single reading, but the reader who takes the time to follow it carefully will be richly rewarded with facts and clear definitions of the rather abstruse technical terms of Shi'ite dogma and mysticism. Useful helps to the reader are the analytical index, informative maps showing the division of the Near East between the Sunnite rulers of Baghdad and the Shi'ite Fatimids of Egypt; the location of the Nizari fortresses south of the Caspian and in northern Syria; a chronology in parallel columns; and a genealogical table of the Isma'ili imams, extending down to

the Agha Khan and the Indian Isma'ilis of today.

A series of biographical notes indicate the extent of the author's researches. He claims for his work only a tentative character, a review of previous "spade work" in a period pivotal in Near Eastern history. The reader will be convinced that this is a very modest claim, and that Hodgson has accomplished more than this designated task superbly well.

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**HANDS ACROSS FRONTIERS: CASE STUDIES IN TECHNICAL COOPERATION**, edited by Peter G. Franck and W. H. Teaf. The Hague: Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation, 1956. 579 pages. \$5.50.

*Reviewed by Harold B. Allen*

The editors of *Hands Across Frontiers* showed considerable courage in undertaking a job requiring the presentations of eleven different authors. This alone represents a formidable task. The size of the volume suggests that it may be more useful for reference than general reading.

Students of technical assistance will be able to select, from the wide variety of cases presented, those of special interest. They can also familiarize themselves with projects scattered all over the globe and dealing with a diversity of activities. The book also offers the reader an opportunity to become acquainted with a number of organizations and individuals well known in the field of technical assistance.

The purpose of the chapter on Afghanistan, "Technical Assistance Through United Nations", is not altogether clear—whether to point out difficulties usually encountered or to emphasize how *not* to succeed. If this is an accurate description of the approach used, then the UN method would appear to leave much to be desired. The authors' constant use of the term "ex-

"pert" is obviously a reflection of the terminology employed by the UN.

Another reason for the lack of success that appears to be indicated is the claim that there were so few individuals in the country qualified to serve as counterparts for the UN experts. This raises the question as to whether Afghanistan would have much need for outside assistance if such specialists were readily available within the country. Is it not to develop citizens who can help in the economic and social advancement of their own country that technical cooperation is most frequently needed?

In addition to supplying much valuable information, sections of this book provide the basis for stimulating discussion. For instance, the Foreword includes a statement of the criteria used in the selection of the cases presented. Readers might find it profitable to consider whether they feel these criteria were strictly applied. Although Aramco's "Operation Bultiste" was undoubtedly one of the most successful examples that could be given of technical assistance, are the problems and experience of this project transferable to other areas and fields?

Dr. Carleton Coon's description of Aramco in Saudi Arabia provides informative and interesting reading. This is the story of a commercial concern whose financial structure is greater and more complicated than that of some of the nations of the Middle East. In the opinion of this reviewer, it is fortunate for the US as well as for Saudi Arabia that there is American know-how capable of developing so successfully the resources of that part of the world. But one wonders if such an outstanding industrial achievement belongs in the same category with most of the other projects that are summarized in the book.

The chapter describing a private village development project in India seems particularly appropriate for this volume even though insignificant by comparison with Operation Bultiste. The student of tech-

nical cooperation will find in this case study much that can be applied elsewhere with limited funds. Here is an organization with long and successful experience in administering relief approaching the new problem of technical assistance and reconstruction as applied to rural improvement with caution and an open mind. The exploratory approach used in this project is one that provides many lessons for national and international teams as well as for private agencies.

The chapter on building roads in Turkey is perhaps one of the finest examples that could be given of technical cooperation between the United States and a foreign government. One needs only to refer to the reduction in transportation costs, the lessening of maintenance problems, the speed-up in the movement in commodities about the country to appreciate the far-reaching economic impact of this undertaking. This project may have had important military implications in the beginning but its beneficial effects on the whole economy soon went far beyond that.

With individuals in constantly increasing numbers preparing for technical assistance careers and leadership in technical assistance projects throughout the world, *Hands Across Frontiers* becomes available at a highly appropriate time.

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## ARAB WORLD

VALUE RECONSTRUCTION AND EGYPTIAN EDUCATION, by Sadek H. Samaan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. 157 pages. \$4.50.

Reviewed by Walter J. Skellie

Many new developments are taking place in Egypt today which will vitally influence its position in tomorrow's world. Among the most significant of these is the progress toward an adequate educational system for

Egypt's youth. The Ministry of Education has sent promising young Egyptians to study the best educational techniques of the West, and is now using their experience in this reorganization. One of them is Dr. Samaan, the author of this book. Trained in America, he is now on the staff of the Egyptian-American Joint Committee for Education. In his book he gives penetrating insights into the present status of secondary education in Egypt, and makes valuable suggestions for new developments which will produce better citizens and a better cultural life in Egypt in the future.

Dr. Samaan is an optimist and a firm believer in the discipline of intellectual freedom. Intellectual freedom is indeed the keynote of his plan for education. He is undoubtedly right in saying that most of the leaders of Egypt today are ready, as never before, to work for a new and better social order. Educators are highly respected in Egypt, and can play a great part in its future, but they need to have the welfare of the whole nation at heart.

The basic problem is how to change from a school system which has been largely theoretical in its orientation, individualistic in its emphasis, and authoritarian in its practice, to a system which will reflect true social democracy and promote the best interests of the common man.

The author suggests two lines of development which will help to achieve that end: curriculum changes, and teacher training. He urges the introduction into the secondary school curriculum of a study of specific controversial issues. Some of these are social and economic, such as relations with the opposite sex; problems of diseases; and economic arrangements in Egypt. Some are political, including political democracy in Egypt, alliances with East or West, or neutrality; relations with the Arab countries, the Sudan, and Israel. Moral and religious issues, such as Muslim-Christian relations, and the place of religion and morals in the school curriculum should also be discussed, the author feels.

He is conscious of the dangers of raising such issues, especially in the light of past exploitation of students' loyalties by selfish partisan political leaders. Narrow-minded teachers might tend to indoctrinate their students with their own loyalties and prejudices. Yet he believes that students should be trained to think through their problems as a group, and through the group process come to democratic conclusions.

The second part of the book deals with the training of teachers who can use these techniques. They must be trained to know Egypt as it is in its present social framework, and how to deal with its problems realistically and impartially so that the students will learn the democratic method.

Dr. Samaan proposes a foundation seminar for teachers in all of the teachers' training institutions, and also for in-service teachers. He includes a very useful outline of questions for such a seminar, which he has himself put into practice in Egypt.

It is a valuable book, giving a good picture of present conditions, and making a very practical effort to apply modern educational methods to meet present needs. It is to be hoped that Dr. Samaan will have real success in putting his principles into practice in Egypt in these days of great progress and social change.

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**MU'ARRIKH AL-'IRĀQ IBN AL-FŪWATĪ (AL-FŪWATĪ, THE HISTORIAN OF IRAQ)**, by Shaykh Muhammad Rida al-Shabibi. Baghdad: Tafayyud Press, 1950. (Publications of the Iraqi Academy, vol. 1.) 260 pages. No price indicated. (in Arabic).

*Reviewed by Majid Khadduri*

This book is the first of several projected volumes designed by its author to discuss the background, life, and works of Ibn al-Fuwati, the great Iraqi historian who witnessed the fall of Baghdad to the Mongol conqueror Hulagu in 1258. Ibn al-Fuwati

was still young when Baghdad fell and was taken, with other prisoners of war, to Persia and then Central Asia. He learned Persian, Turkish, and Mongolian, and distinguished himself as a great scholar. After having traveled extensively in the Muslim world, he decided to write the history of Islam from the fall of Baghdad to the last of the Ilkhanids, with whom he was associated.

Ibn al-Fuwati's chronicles are full of interesting details on the cultural, social, and economic conditions with which he was intimately connected, although they follow the traditional biographical pattern. His accounts of his contemporaries are not conventional biographical sketches, because he is considerably more critical and profound in his observations than other chroniclers of his time. Unfortunately most of his writings have not yet been recovered, and may never be. Perhaps the chief merit of his work—as the author of this volume observes—militated against their preservation by arousing his opponents to destroy them after his death.

Shaykh al-Shabibi tells the fascinating story of his discovery of volumes four and five of what is supposed to be an eight-volume history. When Shabibi was with King Faysal in Damascus after the first World War, he accidentally found a portion of Fuwati's work in the Zahiriya Library and then obtained the whole of vol. IV of the original work. Later another portion was discovered, supposedly from vol. III, but Shabibi is not quite sure that it belongs to Fuwati. This was published in Baghdad in 1932 under the title of *Al-Hawadith al-Jami'a*, edited rather carelessly by Mustafa Jawad. Although Shabibi has continued ever since to search for the other volumes, he has not yet recovered the whole work. His most recent success has been the discovery of an original copy of vol. V in the library of the University of Lahore, Pakistan.

Shabibi's first volume, which makes use of Ibn al-Fuwati's manuscript, deals with a

detailed introduction describing the origins, development, and certain leading episodes of the Abbasid period. Here there are some unorthodox comments, for which Shabibi says he is solely responsible, on leading Abbasid figures and events; but in fact the volume is merely an introductory one. The real value of the series should be in the following volume (or volumes) on the Mongol period, on which Shabibi is a genuine authority.

A word about the author may not be out of place. Although Shabibi has worked continuously in politics ever since the first World War, when he was in Damascus and later in Iraq, as a deputy and senator and several times in the Cabinet, the things nearest his heart have always been poetry and history rather than politics. He has published several short historical studies and a well-known collection of poems. As Minister of Education shortly after World War II he was instrumental in the planning and the establishment of the Iraqi Academy, and he is a member of the Academy of Damascus and of the Academy of Egypt. Critical and profound in his scholarly life, he has found himself almost always siding with the Opposition in his political life.

◆ MAJID KHADDURI is Professor of Middle East Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University.

**THE HASHIMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN: PROLEGOMENA TO A TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM**, by Paul G. Phillips. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. 191 pages; no price indicated.

*Reviewed by Charlotte Morehouse*

Essentially a brief economic geography of Hashimite Jordan, this doctoral dissertation is the first such work encompassing the state within its present boundaries. Economists and researchers on the Middle East will find it a useful reference source,

which makes available some very elusive data.

The weakest section of the study is Chapter II, dealing with the economic history of the Jordan in very broad strokes, from pre-history (1200 B.C.) down to World War II in ten pages of text and seven maps. By limiting his attention to the distribution of settlement and the main axis and foci of economic activity in each age, the author has achieved his apparent purpose of providing purely economic background. Yet the reader with even superficial knowledge of the enormously rich and complex history of the Jordan area will be vexed by misleading generalizations and half-truths. Thus on page 26 the capitulatory system is described, for the first and only time, as follows: "There were numerous rights, concessions, and privileges known as 'capitulations', granted to foreign traders of various countries. In Jordan, British traders were the most favored." There is not a word about the Crusader origins of the Capitulations, their early acceptability, or their later troublesome political implications. In fact, the book has only the barest hint of the worldwide great power rivalries that for a time had Jerusalem as their vortex. Without this wider focus, it is surely an overstatement to say that "From 1875 until the First World War, Germans and Russians were the foreigners most commonly seen in Jordan." Similarly, to say that Abdallah moved northward from the Arabian Peninsula after World War I to oppose the French in Syria fails to identify the roles of Abdallah and his brother Faysal in the Allied war effort, the short-lived Arab kingdom in Damascus, or the bitter dynastic quarrel between the Hashimite and Saudi royal houses, although these are still living issues with important economic consequences. Even within the strict limitations Dr. Phillips set himself, a wider historical focus would have helped to clarify some of these apparent inconsistencies.

Although he points out the fact that the Jordan region has achieved satisfactory eco-

nomic adjustment at several times in the past, the author fails to take account of the rarity of these periods of good order. The Jordan region has been fated for millenia to be a point of friction between major powers, either as a fringe of empire or as a loosely-organized buffer state. These centuries of political turbulence have conditioned a singularly intractable people whose fragmentation and profound distrust of government, of outsiders, and of each other are a stumbling block to healthy economic life, as much as their harsh physical environment.

Dr. Phillips' years of service in Jordan with the Foreign Operations Administration earned him the respect of the Jordanian people and reflected genuine understanding. It is therefore surprising to find him listing among "accepted features of the Moslem religion" 1/ disdain for agriculture and 2/ the inferior status of women. The Beduin attitude toward agriculture antedates Islam, and still distinguishes the equally-devout Muslim village cultivator from the Beduin. There is also some merit in the claim of its modern adherents that Islam actually instituted reforms in the position of women in the Middle East. Neither point, of course, is a tenet of Islam.

These minor irritants, however, do not detract from the value of the monograph. Chapter III presents an excellent physiography, rainfall map and summary table by five climatic regions, in which the Jordan Dept. of Lands and Surveys figures are reproduced in English and converted to the more familiar Fahrenheit scale. The descriptions of soils and the soil map are accompanied by the author's own very fine photographs. The map of mineral deposits contains the results of surveys by US and UN technological consultants not hitherto made public.

Subsequent chapters on demography and agriculture include most of the results of the Jordan Government's housing census of 1952 and its first Statistical Abstract for 1951, the latter available previously only in

a limited Arabic edition. From this data plus field observations Dr. Phillips derives the most accurate population breakdown yet available on Jordan. The population is divided into Beduin, semi-sedentary, settled agricultural village, urban, and refugee-camp segments. The population figures for the principal towns are the first since the major displacements of the Palestine conflict. Dr. Phillips also provides the first post-war tribal map based on field observations and which allows for tribal expulsions from Israeli territory and modifications of *diras*. The distribution of refugees within Jordan, both those concentrated in camps and those residing in the general community, has also been unavailable heretofore.

Other valuable features of the book are detailed tabular and map summaries of crop distribution, and a chapter on Trade and Industry which contains preliminary data from a still-incomplete industrial census which the Jordan Government has had under way since 1953. Economists will regret the lack of comparative statistics from prior years; however, the author probably has been wise to avoid the dangers of extrapolating data from the provinces and parts of provinces of the former Palestine mandate with statistics (often enough on quite a different base) on the former Transjordan.

◆ CHARLOTTE MOREHOUSE, a sociologist specializing in problems of the Middle East, returned from a study tour of the area in 1954.

**LIBYA: THE NEW ARAB KINGDOM IN NORTH AFRICA**, by Henry S. Villard. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956. 162 pages; biblio., index to 169. \$2.75.

*Reviewed by William Sands*

The obligation which the community of nations owes to Libya is little recognized. There the United Nations assumed the responsibility for bringing into national ex-

istence, for the first time in their history, a people who have few of what are generally considered the elements of viable statehood. Mr. Villard's book will bring this fact home. *Libya* is written as a popular survey. It does not pretend to exhaustive treatment of the many facets of Libyan life it considers. But it will be useful to others besides the general reader; so little has been published in English (and so much published in Italian which has little present value) that there are few who concern themselves with the Arab world who may not also read it for instruction.

Mr. Villard opens his work with a brief historical sketch and points out how many imperial conquerors, of whom Mussolini was the latest, have come and gone across this wide North African land. He goes into more detail on UN arrangements for trusteeship and independence following World War II. Since he was one of the American principals in the formulation of the plan which, in essence, was accepted by the UN, he is preeminently qualified to discuss these arrangements.

Mr. Villard then begins his study of the present structure of the Libyan state, at the logical point: the King himself. Without Muhammad Idris, descendant of the Grand Sanusi, there would in all probability be no Libya. Such is the disparity and physical separation among the three federal provinces of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan, that only the person of the monarch holds them together. The prestige of birth and his own qualities as Islamic scholar and Arab aristocrat made this Cyrenaican prince the centripetal agent of a people newly-brought into national life. King Idris learned patience and forbearance in a hard school, that of the Italian occupation (from 1916 onward), after he had succeeded his uncle Sayyid Ahmad as head of the Sanusi *tariqah*. His ruling hand is guided by those qualities today. It is one of the major problems of the new state that the succession is clouded by the absence of a male heir.

Brief sketches of other leading personalities, drawn from the author's own experience with them as first American Minister to Libya, shed light on the functioning of a new government and reveal its problems of organization.

In his discussion of economic problems, Mr. Villard emphasizes the hard fact that Libya is one of the poorest countries in the world in respect to natural resources, and that what does exist needs carefully planned development. The process will take a long time, inevitably, while Libyans are naturally impatient for quick results. They have, however, as examination of their current budget indicates, kept their governmental structure modest indeed and devoted the bulk of the aid available from abroad to economic improvement.

The strategic importance of Libya to the free world and, in particular, the renegotiation of the air base agreement for American use of Wheelus Field in Tripoli, a duty which occupied much of the author's two and a half years in Libya (1952-54) are given their due, but it is human rather than technical values which are stressed in the book. Americans may well consider that it was the quality of their representation during these critical years which contributed to the recent decision of the Libyan government to continue its close cooperation with the United States and reject generous Soviet offers of assistance.

While Mr. Villard does not gloss over any of the difficulties which Libya faces in its struggle to become a modern state, he does offer a restrained and reasoned hope that it can, with the help others must give, make its way in the twentieth century. "Each day adds to the storehouse of experience, increases the depth of national consciousness, and adds to the likelihood of survival."

To sum up, the author has done an excellent job of bringing Libya into focus for Americans.

♦ WILLIAM SANDS is Editor of the *Middle East Journal*.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SYRIA, by an IBRD mission. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955. 486 pages. \$7.50.

*Reviewed by Albert Badre*

The development of less advanced economies in many areas has come to imply primarily the assumption by governments of responsibility for planning and implementing long-term programs of action designed to increase total national production. Owing to the usual insufficiency of quantitative data at their disposal, such governments are forced to lean heavily, in the formulation of their programs, on the sensitiveness of men of experience and the judgment of experts. But it is precisely in underdeveloped countries that programming experts are scarce, hence the pronounced need in many of these countries for teams of specialists who are free from political influence and sufficiently detached from local environment and traditions to be able to formulate objectively a comprehensive program of development which is both balanced and realistic.

In recent times this need has been met in several underdeveloped countries through the assistance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The Bank's procedure is to send out a team of experts to the country under study. These experts investigate the economy at close range, assess its endowment and potential, evaluate its various possibilities for development, and recommend a long-range program of action. Two such missions have recently gone to the Arab world—the first to Iraq in 1951, and the second to Syria in 1954. The present work is the report of the Syrian mission.

The mission which arrived in Syria in February 1954 was composed of ten highly qualified experts with long experience in various fields of activity, including agriculture, transportation, industry, housing, finance, water, and power. After spending several months in Syria, the members of

the mission submitted the present work to the Syrian government as a report in March, 1955.

The book contains the most complete and up-to-date factual information about the Syrian economy yet available. It is in two parts. The first part embodies the mission's main report and a recommended program of development for the period 1956-60. There is a brief description of the Syrian economy, then a detailed analysis of agriculture, industry, electric power, transportation, education, public health, housing, community planning, and community services. The recommendations drawn from this analysis are then grouped into a summarized program of development which also examines methods of finance and procedures of execution and makes pertinent recommendations. The second part of the book, entitled Annexes, contains detailed and valuable information on Syria's international economic position, public finance, agriculture, irrigation, industry, power, and various social services.

The program envisages an estimated expenditure of LS. 986,000,000 (\$276,000,000). Over one third of this amount is earmarked for agriculture and irrigation, about one fourth for education, one fifth to transport and communications, and the rest to all other development projects including industry, power, housing, public health, and community services.

The report sees Syrian development as centering mainly on the utilization of land and water and on the improvement and expansion of transport facilities. The present area under irrigation is estimated at 400,000 hectares. Irrigation projects covered by the Mission's five-year program are expected to expand this area by about 20 percent—the maximum potential being more than double the area currently irrigated. Utilization of water for power generation is proposed on a limited scale to provide about one-fifth of the total projected expansion of 130,000 KVA in power capacity. The report recognizes expansion

of transportation as one of Syria's most urgent needs; particular stress is laid on the development of a motor road connecting the new port of Latakia with Aleppo and the Jazirah.

The expansion of industry does not seem to occupy a significant position in the IBRD program. The most important recommendation in this connection is the establishment of a private industrial investment bank with a capital of LS. 15,000,000. Although industrial equipment impressed the Mission members as generally adequate and up-to-date, they considered Syrian industry as greatly lacking in efficiency. This they attributed to the prevailing system of exaggerated protection, and they recommended wider opportunities for foreign competition as a shock treatment for Syrian industry. Their proposals for amending import duties, however, do not seem to have taken fully into consideration policy trends suggested by the recent development of Arab trade agreements. The failure to plan effective industrial expansion leaves the program somewhat unbalanced, and raises doubts even about the success of agricultural development so long as it is not being integrally supported by an expansion of urban markets through industrialization.

The Mission rightly proposes that the program be financed mainly from local revenues. They base their work on estimates of about LS. 1,700,000,000 in public revenues over the next five years, to be supplemented by foreign aid and foreign borrowing to the extent of LS. 200,000,000. Their estimates of revenue, however, seem to be too conservative. The increase in oil transit revenues alone since the new Syrian agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company is about LS. 240,000,000 above the Mission estimate. In view of such excessive conservatism in revenue estimates, and since Syria has no serious balance of payments problems, it is difficult to understand the assertion on the part of the IBRD Mission that if Syria continues to decline US technical and economic assistance "it may

well face the need of curtailing the development program we have outlined."

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## NORTH AFRICA

THE PRINCE AND I, by Marvine Howe. New York: John Day Company, 1955. 252 pages. \$3.50.

*Reviewed by Lorna Hahn*

Unfortunately mistitled, since it deals with much more than Prince Moulay Hassan and Miss Howe, this very readable book gives a seldom-seen picture of contemporary Morocco. For the author writes not as a scholar coldly compiling equally cold data, but as a warm human being interested in more of the same. As such, her account of personal adventures often proves more worth-while than the strict political-economic analyses to which we are accustomed.

When Miss Howe arrived in Fez in 1950 as companion to the children of the French commandant, she had no intention of becoming involved in the country's turbulent politics. Non-involvement, however, became a virtual impossibility in the tense bipolarized protectorate. And although warned by her employers against making any contacts with the "natives," she quickly established many, ranging from the Berber cook who proposed marriage to the handsome young prince who became her riding instructor and friend. Her subsequent story is one of increasing sympathy for the Moroccan people and the nationalist cause, and an inside account of events during the stormy summer of 1953.

Perhaps the most interesting point to emerge is the fact—just beginning to be appreciated by the French—that the keenest resentment against "colonialism" stems less from economic exploitation than from racial or cultural snobbery. Although apparent in all strata of society, this bitterness

shows itself most poignantly among the young educated elite. After studies in Paris, where they were the peer of their French schoolmates, and were treated as such, they return home to find themselves *declassés* in their own country, members of that mass of "dirty Arabs" with whom no well-bred Frenchman—or American—should associate.

The tragedy here is that most of these people want very much to be able to like France; they are grateful for the opportunities it has given them, worship its ideals, and thrill to the *Marseillaise*. "How can I hate France, when I am a product of France!" explained one student. Despite repeated disappointments and repressions, in fact, many of them continued to hope that some agreement could be made on an honorable gentleman-to-gentleman basis.

The hopes, frustrations, and continued efforts of the rising generation are strikingly shown in the character of the crown prince, the idol and symbol of those who dream of a modern, eventually-free Morocco. The prince, who is brilliant, the possessor of numerous degrees, and a leading advisor to the Sultan, is a very intense young man completely devoted to his responsibilities, yet able to retain perspective and a sense of humor. How he matures under the terrific pressure of events, and exchanges some of his earlier self-assurance for humility, is quite compassionately described.

Miss Howe, having met a wide assortment of Moroccan notables, destroys some persistent illusions and substitutes some excellent impressions. This is particularly true of the episodes involving the royal family, who would apparently be almost equally at home in the White House as in the palace. Interested not in retaining absolutist privileges, but in building a democratic nation, they prove to be leaders in every sense. Their attempts at re-education are shown, for example, in the steps to emancipate women and to prepare the people to accept such changes.

Almost equally interesting are the descriptions of the French bureaucracy, with whom the author had many dealings in her position with Radio Maroc. These people were suspicious-minded (they accused Miss Howe of being a nationalist spy) and often afraid beneath the smooth veneer of "My, what we have done for this country," but they too seemed to sense that something was wrong. The engineering of the *coup* against the Sultan—and the consequences following Miss Howe's departure which led to his restoration—proved their apprehensions well founded.

In sum, *The Prince and I* is a fine introduction to Morocco and a most pleasant supplement for those already acquainted with that country. We could use a few more books like this on the Middle East.

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## TURKEY

MİLLİ MÜCADELE HATIRALARI (Vol. 1) and MOSKOVA HATIRALARI (Vol. 2), by General Ali Fuat Cebesoy. İstanbul: Vatan Neşriyatı, 1953 (Vol. 1), 1955 (Vol. 2). Vol. 1: 528 pages; T.L. 5.00; Vol. 2: 350 pages; T.L. 5.00. (Both in Turkish).

*Reviewed by Dankwart A. Rustow*

The two volumes of memoirs which General Cebesoy has recently published entitled *Memoirs of the National Struggle* and *Moscow Memoirs*, respectively, are a most welcome and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the early history of the Turkish National movement under Kemal Atatürk.

The author was among the earliest associates in Kemal's struggle for Turkish independence and can look back on a varied and distinguished career of military, diplomatic, and political service. Although Kemal's junior by two years, General Cebesoy was his classmate in the officers' and general staff schools. In the trying days

following the armistice of 1918 he was a brigadier-general whose army corps came to be strategically situated at Ankara, then the westernmost position safely beyond the reach of the Entente powers. During the early phases of the Turkish War of Independence he served as Commander of the western front against the Greeks. He became the Ankara Government's first ambassador to Moscow and as such was one of the signers of the Turco-Soviet Treaty of Friendship in 1921. Upon his return to Ankara he took an active part in politics and soon joined Kemal's opponents as co-founder and secretary general of the Republican Progressive Party (1924-25). Eight years after the dissolution of this early opposition group he reentered parliament, serving at various times as cabinet minister and speaker of the National Assembly.

The present volumes cover the period from the Ottoman defeat in 1918 until the author's return from Moscow in the spring of 1922. They are devoted almost entirely to matters of state, army, and diplomacy. The style is fluid, unpretentious, and refreshingly remote both from the cumbrous involutions of the Ottoman chancellery and from "pure Turkish". There are numerous documents, chiefly from the author's private and official correspondence.

The most important single source on the Turkish War of Independence to date has been Kemal Atatürk's famous Six-Day Speech of 1927. A detailed comparison of that work with General Cebesoy's first volume will therefore prove revealing. It is clear that Kemal's narrative, for all its rich detail and ample documentation, was composed too soon after the event to allow for dispassionate and detached presentation. Kemal's tendency to project his subsequent disputes with some of his close associates into the past is readily apparent, and on this point General Cebesoy's account, written a quarter-century later and remarkably free from apparent animosity, should provide an important corrective. In one instance Cebesoy reproduces the full text of

a document which Kemal abbreviated in an apparent attempt to make his political course seem more consistent in retrospect. Elsewhere Kemal refers to the unanimous resolution of the Sivas Congress of 1919 to invite a fact-finding mission of American senators and adds vaguely: "I remember very well that a document to this effect was drawn up . . . but I cannot remember exactly whether it was sent off or not." In fact the request was conveyed in a telegram to the President of the U. S. Senate, whose text Cebesoy reproduces. Cebesoy errs, however, in stating that this document "has not hitherto been published." It appears as "Exhibit F" in the Harbord Report, (U. S. Senate Document 266, 66th Congress, 2nd Session.) As might be expected, Atatürk's speech and Cebesoy's memoirs differ most markedly in their recital of the events leading to General Cebesoy's resignation as Commander of the Western front, and at this point each source appears to gloss over some developments more fully detailed in the other.

While the Turkish Nationalists were strengthening their political and military position in Anatolia their relations with the Soviets remained ambiguous. Here the Cebesoy memoirs shed much new light on one of the more involved episodes in recent diplomatic history. The sections devoted to Kemal's ingenious attempt to counterinfiltrate the Anatolian Communist movement in 1920 are among the most absorbing passages in the first volume. The second volume gives a full account of the contacts leading up to the signing of the Turco-Soviet treaty on March 16, 1921—including the text of the earlier draft agreement initialled the previous August and details of negotiations for the supply of Russian gold and arms to Turkey.

A full evaluation of the Cebesoy memoirs must await more detailed examination of the rich materials in the light of available sources in Turkish, Russian, and other languages. It seems certain that no serious student of the early history of the Turkish

National movement and of Turco-Soviet relations will be able to disregard these two volumes.

The circumstances leading to the first open rifts within the Kemalist movement and to the founding and suppression of the Progressive Party have so far been recorded almost exclusively by Kemal and his followers, and thus remain among the most obscure chapters in recent Turkish politics. Scholars interested in the history of this later period will be waiting impatiently for the publication of further volumes of General Cebesoy's memoirs.

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## ISRAEL

**THE PALESTINE POUND AND THE ISRAEL POUND,** by Robert David Ottensooser. Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1955. 177 pages. No price indicated.

*Reviewed by Raymond Mikesell*

The monetary history of that section of the Fertile Crescent which now comprises the country of Israel reflects the turbulence of its political history. Since the beginning of World War I the currencies of four issuing authorities have circulated within its boundaries: the Turkish pound of the Ottoman Empire, the Egyptian pound, the Palestine pound issued by the British-controlled Palestine Currency Board, and the Israeli pound, first issued by the Issue Department of the Bank Leumi le-Israel and in 1954 transferred to the newly-organized Central Bank of Israel. In addition to having employed two foreign currencies, the country's monetary experience encompassed both the conservative 100 percent sterling reserve system of the Palestine Currency Board and the present system, in which the volume of note issue is completely divorced from gold or foreign exchange holdings.

But the rigid system of 100 percent exchange reserve cover did not avoid inflation, and both systems failed to provide a volume of currency consistent with the growth and stability of the economy. The influx of Jewish capital during the 1930's did permit a growth in the money supply and Palestine avoided the inflation which occurred in most of the world.

All this is pointed out in Robert Ottensooser's book. It might be argued, however, that foreign capital could have made a larger contribution to the development of the economy if a substantial proportion of it had not been tied up in the sterling balances which represented not only the reserve backing of the currency but also a considerable part of the reserves behind bank deposits. During the war British military expenditures swelled the money supply and brought about a substantial inflation. Because of the unavailability of imports, the sterling acquired from British military expenditures and Jewish capital imports simply served to increase the volume of sterling balances. But by the time these balances could be spent, their real value had declined substantially.

The author is critical of the "open door" principle of the Mandate and of the Currency Board system as having impeded Palestine economic development. His principal reason is that Palestine could not employ restrictive trade practices and use her bargaining power as an importer to expand her markets. Palestine's link to Empire trade through sterling, he says, also impeded bilateral and discriminatory trade practices.

While the Mandate system and the currency and credit arrangement may not have fostered a more satisfactory rate of economic progress, the reasons are surely not those indicated by the author. After 1948 the State of Israel was free to conclude all kinds of barter transactions, but, in this reviewer's opinion, Israel has probably lost more than she has gained through such transactions. In fact, the author admits (on

page 146) that this new system of bilateral dealings was not always economical.

With independence came monetary sovereignty with all its responsibilities and pitfalls. Between March, 1949, and the beginning of 1952 the volume of currency rose by more than 200 percent and inflation, first repressed and then open, was of course inevitable. The Currency Board system came to an end with the establishment of the Israeli pound, and Israel was expelled from the sterling area in 1948. The author is quite critical of this British action, which he blames for the blocking of Israel's accumulated sterling balances. Yet Britain blocked a portion of the sterling assets of other members of the sterling area, including Iraq, India and Ceylon. Moreover, Israel's sterling assets were released for current transactions within a relatively short period of time, while a portion of the sterling assets of several countries which are members of the sterling area remains blocked. While there may have been advantages for Israel's continued membership in the sterling area, the author has not revealed them. Because of the high proportion of dollar receipts (largely gifts and loans) in Israel's total foreign exchange receipts, this reviewer can see little advantage for Israel as a member of the London dollar pool, although it is always possible that Israel might have had freer access to the London capital market as a sterling area member.

The author has rightly sought to analyze Israel's currency development in the light of her economic experience. Yet his book is perhaps too superficial for this purpose. A fuller understanding of Israel's currency experience both during and after the Mandate requires a far more comprehensive analysis of her internal financial and balance of payments developments.

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ISRAEL: ITS ROLE IN CIVILIZATION, ed. by Moshe Davis. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. 338 pages. \$4.00.

*Reviewed by Isaac Franck*

The new state of Israel, by virtue of becoming a *political* fact, of necessity has had to become part of a fabric of political and economic relationships. Moreover, from its inception Israel was tragically catapulted into the arena of military conflict, and into the crosscurrents of regional and global power-politics and propaganda. It is therefore not surprising that political, military, and sometimes economic news have received the major emphasis in American newspaper headlines. For large numbers of Americans this circumstance has tended to eclipse the religious, spiritual, and cultural significance of Israel for the Jewish people and for human civilization.

The present volume is an exciting contribution to this much-needed clarification of perspective on Israel. Its twenty-one authors are distinguished philosophers, theologians, statesmen, historians, archaeologists, political scientists, artists, and biblical scholars. Edited by the Provost of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the papers are grouped under four main headings: "Israel in the Perspective of the World Scene"; "What Modern Scholarship Teaches about Ancient Israel"; "Inner Life in the New State"; and "The Nature of the Interrelationship between Israel and America". While the papers inevitably display unevenness in depth of analysis, and vary in their immediacy of relevance to the central theme, collectively they support Professor William F. Albright's statement that "the Zionist movement is, after all, historically a special form of Messianic expectation", and Ambassador Eban's description of "Zionism as a version of the destiny and the mission of the Jewish people."

This sense of the mission of the Jewish people to realize through Israel the spirit-

ual and moral goals of Zionism is reflected in page after page. In "Character Change and Social Experiment in Israel" Martin Buber analyzes the social goals and way of life of Israel's pioneers, characterizing them as experiments in "what man himself can do in order to live a really human life with his fellow man, dealing lovingly with one another, helping one another to live." Professor Allan Nevins, Columbia University historian, similarly adduces Israel's "growing fraternalism", its character as a "classless nation of practical optimists building for the future", the "Owenite and Tolstoyan elements" in its pioneer settlements, as evidence for his conclusion that "in such a society it is harder to preach ideological hatreds and pragmatic jealousies". Nevins also notes with enthusiasm and hope Chancellor Louis Finkelstein's suggestion for "the establishment in Jerusalem of a world academy, to which some of the finest spirits of the globe might be brought . . . and where they might pool their wisdom and mature plans for the betterment of mankind."

Harvard political scientist Carl J. Friedrich, in a profound paper on "Israel and the End of History" dwells at length on the "unique sense of history as a meaningful sequence of events" which "Western civilization owes "to the Jewish people and their monotheism." His analysis leads him to emphasize the "crucial part" the Jewish people were destined to play "in a world united under law in a federation of states" now that they have achieved an Israel which was "the first state ever created by joint action" of other states. Abba Eban, noting the striking similarities between the American experience and that of Israel, singles out immigration, pioneering, and democratic institutions as key factors in the growth of the two countries. He and Jacob Robinson explore the suggestion that Israel's democracy may become sufficiently infectious to help in "the evolution of democracy in the Arab world".

There are papers in the book on the extraordinary development of music in Israel, on Jewish and universal trends in Israeli art, on problems of the amalgamation of Oriental and Occidental Jews, and the special need of the group of Yemenite Jews for leadership from among the "modern religious Jewish intelligentsia." A searching paper by the late Dr. Hayim Greenberg probes into the problem of Church-State relationships in Israel. He points out the prospect of a "prolonged and severe *Kulturmampf*" in the future, when the effort to resolve this problem is finally undertaken. Dr. Greenberg espouses the doctrine of "complete separation of organized religion and state", and thus evidences the influence of American experience on the best thinking in this troubled area of Israel's life.

In the section "America and Israel", Howard Mumford Jones contributes an interesting literary paper on the "Land of Israel in Anglo-Saxon Tradition". His conclusion is that "throughout literary history Palestine has been regarded by Britons and Americans as a land apart", and that the "religious interest has in the main overshadowed the political interest". Professor Robert T. Handy of Union Theological Seminary summarizes his survey of "Zion in American Christian Movements" in the statement that Zion has played "a minor but persistent role in American Christian Movements". In an extensive and scholarly study of "American Policy Toward Zion" Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo traces American religious, humanitarian, cultural, and political interest in Palestine and its restoration as a Jewish commonwealth from the Puritans to President Truman, concluding that "American interest in the Holy Land began with theology and matters pertaining to God as well as Caesar have played some part in every vital decision on the issue."

In a number of the papers one finds incisive analyses of some of the spiritual problems and dangers faced by Israel and

its people. Questions are raised as to whether Israel can assure the continuity of the unique role of the Jewish people in world history; whether the moral and spiritual goals enunciated in ancient Israel and in subsequent generations of Jewish thought and experience will really be brought to fruitful life in modern Israel. Allan Nevins asks whether, as Israel emerges out of the harsh experience of its reconstruction, it may not suffer some loss "in intellectual keenness and passion". Nevins and Ambassador Eban express concern about the possible danger of an excessive Israeli particularism or provincialism which might separate Israel from the intellectual and spiritual products of Western civilization. Professor Baron, out of his examination of the second Jewish commonwealth after the return from Babylonia, warns that Israel must not lose touch with the Jewish past or with Diaspora Jewry.

It is such honest questioning that Israel will find helpful in the present period of exigency. One wishes the volume could have included papers on the revival of Hebrew, on the new literature, on philosophy and biblical and historical scholarship, and on the great volume of translation of European and American classics into Hebrew. Ambassador Eban does, however, mention Ben Gurion's proposal for a gigantic project of literary ingathering to make available to the Hebrew reader translations of "the best products of the Western mind . . . the basic documents of Western civilization." This stimulating book brings to the reader a sense of "the drama of redemption which is unfolding in Israel" and at the same time a sense of the travail experienced by a culture in the throes of miraculous rebirth.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## General

*De Ambos Lados del Estrecho (The Two Sides of the Straits)*, by Guillermo Gallent. Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955. 315 pages; index to 332. No price indicated. (In Spanish). About the Straits of Gibraltar.

*The Balkans in Our Time*, by Robert Lee Wolff. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. 587 pages; index to 616. \$8.00. Contains one chapter on Ottoman rule in the Balkans.

*Bibliography on Southwestern Asia III*, by Henry Field. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1956. 230 pages. \$6.00. A convenient guide listing titles in anthropogeography and natural history (zoology and botany) on the Middle East from Egypt and Turkey west to Pakistan, and including Transcaucasia.

*Byzantine Civilization*, by Steven Runciman. New York: Meridian Books, 1956. 240 pages; notes, biblio. to 255. \$1.25. A paperbacked reissue of the original edition published in 1933. Omits index of proper names and abbreviates notes.

*La Evolucion Contemporanea de los Paises Arabes*, by Serrano de Lababidy. Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1956. 213 pages; biblio. to 225. No price indicated. (In Spanish).

*La Face de l'Asie*, by Rene Grousset. Paris: Payot, 1955. 444 pages. No price indicated. (In French). Published posthumously, it is an attempt to describe all of Asia vertically in history and horizontally in contemporary politics.

*Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, by David Ayalon. London: Valentine Mitchell, 1956. 111 pages; notes, appendices, index to 154-30 sh. A study of the effect of use of firearms on the stylized Mamluk chivalry.

*Humor in Early Islam*, by Franz Rosenthal. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956. 138 pages; biblio., index to 154. Gld. 22/

*International Mandates and Trusteeship Systems*, by R. N. Chowdhuri. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955. 328 pages. No price indicated.

*Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, by Enno Littmann. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. 205 pages. DM 36.00. (In German). A series of biographies of Orientalists whom Littmann has known, followed by a bibliography of his own works compiled by Anton Schell.

*Le Monachisme Errant dans l'Islam*, by R. Brunel. Rabat: Institute des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, 1955. 474 pages, 12 maps. DM 31.20. (In French). *Musulmanes de Valencia Apresados Cerca de Ibiza en 1413*, by Mariano Arribas Palau. Tetuan: Centro de Estudios Marroquies, 1955. 56 pages. No price indicated. (In Spanish).

*The Pitiful and The Proud*, by Carl Rowan. New

York: Random House, 1956. 424 pages. \$5.00. A report by an American Negro newspaperman of his experiences in India, Pakistan and Southeast Asia on tour under the auspices of the State Department. The author was present at the Bandung Conference.

*Science, Democracy and Islam, and Other Essays*, by Humayun Kabir. New York: Macmillan, 1956. 156 pages. \$3.00.

*A Selected Bibliography of Articles Dealing with the Middle East, II (1951-1954)*. Jerusalem: Economic Research Institute, Hebrew University, 1955. 83 pages; biblio. \$1.50 (In English and Hebrew).

*Soviet Imperialism*, by G. A. Tokaev. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 73 pages. \$2.75. Contains a statement on Soviet strategy in Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey.

*The Struggle for Asia*, by Sir Francis Low. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. 233 pages; index to 239. \$3.50. A discussion aimed at the general reader. Includes India and Pakistan.

*A World in Revolution*, by Sidney Lens. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. 249 pages. \$3.75. The author uses the example of Aramco in Saudi Arabia to illustrate his thesis that the value of capitalism in underdeveloped countries is diluted by having to work with feudalism in order to retain its investment.

## Cyprus

*Cyprus in History*, by Doros Alastos. London: Zeno, 1955. 395 pages; biblio., index to 426. Illustrated with plates. 63 sh. A survey of Cypriote history since Neolithic times, with an epilogue bringing events up to July, 1955. Emphasizes the cultural and linguistic unity of the Cypriotes despite almost uninterrupted foreign domination.

## Egypt

*Eternal Egypt*, by Clement Robichon and Alexandre Varille. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 144 plates. \$6.00. Photographs, mostly of Egypt's ancient monuments.

## India

*As I See India*, by Robert Trumbull. New York: William Sloane, 1956. 249 pages. \$4.00. A straightforward piece of reporting on India and her problems by the *New York Times* correspondent there (1947-1954), it lacks depth and informed analysis of the apparent contradictions of Indian policy. Contains excellent summaries of Partition. *Changing Society in India and Pakistan*, by Nazmul Karim. London: Oxford University Press, 1956

(Printed in Pakistan). 160 pages; biblio. to 173. RS.5/12/0. The author's M.A. thesis at Columbia University.

*Fundamental Rights in India*, by Alan Gledhill. London: Stevens, 1955. 150 pages. 25sh/

*Himalayan Tea Garden*, by David Wilson Fletcher. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1956. 273 pages. \$4.50. An account of the adventures of a young English family while running a tea plantation near Darjeeling.

*Jawaharlal Nehru*, by Jagdish Saran Sharma. New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1955. Pages not numbered. RS. 25/. A descriptive bibliography of the writings of Nehru, including a chronology to July 31, 1955/

*Reformers in India*, by K. Ingham. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. 123 pages; appendices, biblio., index to 149. \$3.50. An account of the work of Christian missionaries in India, 1793-1833. Includes lists of missionaries working in India.

*Remember the House*, by Santha Rama Rau. New York: Harpers, 1956. 241 pages. \$3.00. A novel set in Bombay before Partition.

*The Teaching of the Social Sciences in India*. New York: UNESCO Publications, 1956. 197 pages. \$2.50. One of a series of UNESCO monographs on the teaching of the social sciences. Contains contributions by leading Indian scholars.

*Theory and Practice of Cooperation in India and Abroad*, by K. R. Kulharni. Vol. 1. Bombay: Co-operators Book Depot, 1955. 416 pages. RS. 15/-

*Twilight of the Maharajahs*, by Sir Kenneth Fitz. London: John Murray, 1956. 180 pages. 15sh/. A discussion of the last phase of the decline of the princely states in India from the Delhi Durbar of 1911 to their final collapse and the massacre of autocracy as recorded in the Government of India White Paper of 1950.

### Iran

*A Political and Diplomatic History of Persia*, by 'Ali Akbar Bunya. Tehran: University of Tehran Publication no. 205, 1955/ 331 pages. 17sh/6d. (In Persian).

*Die Sowjetunion und Iran*, by Dietrich Geyer. Tubingen, 1955. 100 pages. No price indicated. (In German). A documented study of relations between the USSR and Iran, 1917-1954.

### Israel

*Frontiers of a Nation: A Survey of Political and Diplomatic History Behind the Palestine Mandate*, by H. F. Frischwasser. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954. 200 pages, 6 maps. 15sh.

*Mori Sa'id*, by Hayim Hazaz. Trans. by Ben Halpern. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1956. \$40

pages. \$4.00. A novel about the Yemenite Jews in contemporary Israel.

### North Africa

*L'Algérie Hors la Loi*, by Colette and Francis Jean-sou. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1955. 319 pages. No price indicated. (In French). A sympathetic report by two French writers which favors the Algerian nationalists.

*Colección de Crónicas Árabes de la Reconquista*, vol. 4, by Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakusi. Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955. 337 pages. No price indicated. (In Spanish).

*I Congreso Arqueológico del Marruecos Espagnole*. Tetuan: Servicio de Arqueología, 1954. 539 pages. No price indicated. (In French, English and Spanish). Papers submitted to the Archaeological Congress, June 22-26, 1953.

*The Land of the Veiled Men*, by Peter Fuchs. Transl. By Brice Fawcett. New York: Citadel Press, 1956. 168 pages. \$3.75. A travel diary by a German ethnologist; life among the Tuaregs of North Africa.

*Revolution en Algérie*, by René Schaefer. Paris: Editions France Empire, 1956. 414 pages. No price indicated. (In French). A journalistic treatment of Franco-Algerian relations. Concludes that continued union will enable the two states to develop fully, while separation will inhibit growth.

*La Tunisie Orientale Sahel et Basse Steppe*, by Jean Despois. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. 522 pages; index to 551. No price indicated. (In French). Second edition brought up to date of a geographic study by the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Tunis.

### Pakistan

*The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, ed. S. M. Ikram and Percival Spear. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. 204 pages. RS. 14/. An official Government publication. Links Pakistani culture with the Mughals.

*A Short History of Hind-Pakistan*, prepared by the Pakistan History Board. Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1955. 443 pages; chronology, index to 484. RS. 10/-

### Persian Gulf

*Kuwait Was My Home*, by Zahra Freeth. New York: MacMillan, 1956. 158 pages; index to 164. \$3.75. An account of a childhood spent in Kuwait, by the daughter of H. R. P. Dickson, himself author of the forthcoming *Kuwait and Her Neighbors*. Compares the primitive, isolated Kuwait of twenty years ago with the oil-rich territory of today.

## Syria

*Anthologie Syriacque*, by M. Doumeh. Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise, 1955. 93 pages. DM 9.60. (In French)

*Ar-Rif As-Suri (The Syrian Rural Areas)*, by Wasfi Zakariya. Damascus: 1955. 425 pages. LS. 10. (In Arabic). In two projected volumes (this is vol. 1). A topographical and geographical survey-description of the districts (*qazas*) of Nebek, Duma, and Quteife, in the *muhafazah* of Damascus. Also gives information on the economic, cultural and social life of these districts.

*La Syrie*, by Youssef Helbaoui. Paris: Librairie de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1956. 295 pages; biblio. No price indicated (In French). A description of the development of the Syrian economy.

*Al-Mu'hadat ad-Duwaliyah as-Suriyah Ath-  
Thunaiyah (The Syrian International Dual Treaties)*, by Adnan Nashshabe. Beirut: 1955. 625 pages. LS. 25. (In Arabic) Texts of treaties and agreements made by Syria or in her name in the last 30 years, with an introduction by the author.

## Turkey

*A History of Turkey From Empire to Republic*, by M. Phillips Price. New York: MacMillan, 1956. 219 pages. \$4.50. An informal history of Turkey's evolution from the "sick man of Europe" to a strong modern state. Part III deals with the problems of modern Turkey. Photographs.

*The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914-17*, by C. Jay Smith. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 486 pages; Notes, index to 553. \$4.75. The title is misleading since the bulk of the book is devoted to a discussion of the Straits Question and Russo-Turkish relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution. Based on diplomatic documents released by the Soviet Government.

*The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, by A. D. Alderson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. 126 pages; tables, biblio., index to 159, genealogical charts to 186. 80sh. A study of the Ottoman dynasty as a family, including descriptions of the rise of the harem and *hafiz* system.

*My Thirty Years in Turkey*, by Lynn A. Scipio Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith, 1955. 346 pages. \$5.00. An autobiography by the former dean of the Engineering School at Robert College.

*Der Wirtschaftsaufbau der Türkei nach dem Zwei-  
ten Weltkrieg*, by Salahaddin Sozeri. Kiel: Schmidt und Klaunig, 1955. 128 pages. DM 10. (In German). No. 34 in the Kiel University studies in economic management. Describes Ataturk's policy to 1933 as state capitalism directed toward rapid industrialization. After 1945 private enterprise was encouraged.

## Archaeology

*From the Tablets of Sumer*, by Samuel N. Kramer. Indian Hills, Colo.: Falcon's Wing Press, 1956. 262 pages; appendices to 293. \$5.00. Twenty-five "firsts" in man's recorded history; the story of Sumerian civilization retold from the clay tablets of Sumer.

*Highlights of Archaeology in Bible Lands*, by Fred Hartley Wight. Chicago: Moody Press, 1955. 243 pages; illus. \$3.95.

*The Mountains of Pharaoh*, by Leonard Cottrell. London: Robert Hale, 1956 (American edition by Rinehart & Co.). 274 pages; biblio., index to 285. \$5.00. The story of the excavation of the Great Pyramids, written by an eminent British archaeologist. Primarily a popular account.

*Tombs, Temples and Ancient Art*, by Joseph Lindon Smith, ed. by Corinna Smith. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956. 322 pages; biblio., index to 349. \$5.00. The life story of an American artist who went to Egypt in 1898 and gained his reputation through paintings based on the reliefs excavated in the Pyramids. Illustrated with copies reproduced from his paintings.

*Nineveh and the Old Testament*, by André Parrot. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 89 pages; \$2.75. No. 3 in Studies in Biblical Archaeology, it describes the relationship between the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel and the Assyrian Empire, based on archaeological discoveries made at Nineveh and the surrounding region.

## Law, Philosophy, Science

*Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, by Francis J. Carmody. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. 188 pages. \$2.75. A bibliography.

*The Concept of Constitutional Law in Islam*, by Rahimuddin Kemal. Hyderabad: Fazi Brothers, 1955. 158 pages. No price indicated.

*The Future of Customary Law in Africa*. Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1955. 271 pages; biblio. to 305. fl. 19.75. (In English & French). Report on a symposium held in Amsterdam, 1955, in collaboration with the Royal Tropical Institute. Contains contributions by J. N. D. Anderson on "Customary Law and Islamic Law in British African Territories" and G. H. Bosquet on "Customary Law Among the Berbers".

*Islamic Law and the Constitution*, by Maulana Maudoodi, ed. by Khurshid Ahmad. Karachi: Jamaat-a-Islami Publications, 1955. 204 pages. RS. 4/8. A selection of the writings of a noted legalistic philosopher on Islam and its relation to the Pakistan constitution.

*Religion*

*The Holy Qur'an*, transl. by Maulawi Sher'Ali. Rabwah, Pakistan: The Oriental and Religious Publishing Co., 1955. 643 pages. \$5.00. Parallel readings in English and Arabic, with a long explanatory introduction in English. Issued by the Ahmadiyya Movement.

*The Koran Interpreted*, transl. by A. J. Arberry. 2 vols. New York: MacMillan, 1956. 717 pages. \$10.50. A new translation.

*St. Paul's Journeys in the Greek Orient*, by Henri Metzger, transl. by S. H. Hooke. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 74 pages. \$2.75. A fourth volume in Studies in Biblical Archaeology.

*The Teachings of the Magi*, by R. C. Zaehner. New York: MacMillan, 1956. 156 pages. \$2.50. A general survey of the main tenets of Zoroastrianism. *Uç Tehafüt Bakimindan Felsefe ve Din Münasebeti*, by Mubahat Türker. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1956. 397 pages; biblio., index to 419. No price indicated. (In Turkish). A dissertation which compares the three "tehafuts" of Islam as they affect religion and philosophy.

*Linguistics, Literature*

*Mahabharata* (Selections from *Adi Parva* and *Sambha Parva*). New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 205 pages. \$4.75.

*The Modern Arabic Short Story*, by Abdul Meguid. Cairo: Al-Maaref Press, 1956. 138 pages; biblio., Supplement (in Arabic), 253 pages. \$3.00. A doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Manchester.

Premios "Marruecos" y "Al-Maghrib" de Literatura, 1955. Tetuan: Instituto Muley el-Hasan, 1955. 103 pages. No price indicated. (In Spanish and Arabic). Works of Miguel Fernandez, Muhammad al-Tanyawi, and Ahmad al-Baqqali.

*Some Features of the Morphology of the Oirot (Gorno-Altaï) Language*, by C. G. Simpson. London: Central Asian Research Center, 1955. 67 pages; biblio. 7sh/6d. Prepared by the Reader in

Turkish at the University of Durham. Uses Cyrillic characters.

*A Thousand and One Arabic Proverbs*, by Dalal Khalil Safadi and Victoria Safadi. Beirut: American Press (Privately printed). No date. 160 pages. \$2.00. About 1000 Arabic proverbs, in Arabic script with English translation, classified by subject. No attempt at annotation or explanation.

**FORTHCOMING BOOKS**

*Beyond the Aegean*, by Elias Venezis. New York: Vanguard Press. A novel about family life in Anatolia before the exchange of populations.

*Byzantium and Istanbul*, by Robert Liddell. London: Jonathan Cape. An introduction to Istanbul and vicinity.

*Kuwait and Her Neighbors*, by H. R. P. Dickson. New York: MacMillan.

*Europa Minor*, by Lord Kinross. London: John Murray. A sequel to the author's previous book *Within the Taurus*.

*The Land of Burnt Faces: a Journey to Ethiopia*, by John Buchholzer. New York: Robert M. McBride. A travel record.

*The Lycian Shore*, by Freya Stark. London: John Murray. The second stage in the author's Turkish travels.

*New Babylon: a Portrait of Iraq*, by Desmond Stewart and John Haylock. London: Collins. A lively personal account of Iraq.

*The Seven Islands*, by Jon Godden. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. A novel about the effect of wealth of a holy man living by the Ganges River.

*Violent Truce: A Military Observer Looks at the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1951-55*, by Cdr. E. H. Hutchison. New York: Devin-Adair. A first-hand report by a US naval officer assigned to the UN Truce Commission.

*Water into Wine*, by Lady E. S. Drower. London: John Murray. A study of ritual idiom in the Middle Eastern churches.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Consultant in Near East Bibliography, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

With contributions from: Ernest Dawn, Richard Ettinghausen, Charles A. Ferguson, Sidney Glazer, Louis A. Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M. Perlmann, C. Rabin, W. Spencer.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

For list of abbreviations, see page 346. For list of periodicals reviewed, see page 347.

## GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel, natural history, geology)

- 8842 AL ADAWI, I. E. "Description of the Sudan by Muslim geographers and travellers." *Sudan Notes & Records* 35 (D '54) 5-16.  
8843 COUSTEAU, J. Y. and MARDEN, LUIS. "Exploring Davy Jones' locker with *Calypso*." *Natl. Geog. Mag.* 102 (F '56) 149-61.  
8844 LEBON, J. H. G. "Recent contributions to the geography of the Sudan." *Geog. Rev.* 46 (Ap '56) 246-52. A review of work since World War II, including soil conservation, crop-production plans, technical agricultural studies, food and society, irrigation, regional development, and cartography.  
8845 MARDEN, LUIS. "Camera under the sea." *Natl. Geog. Mag.* 109 (F '56) 162-200. Underwater photography in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.  
8846 MAXWELL, GENEVIEVE. "Grand Canyon of Arabia." *Mid. East Forum* 31 (Mr '56) 10-14. Colorful description of the Hadhramaut in southern Arabia.  
8847 SIMOONS, FREDERICK. "The role of the ensete in Ethiopia." *Geog. Rev.* 46 (Ap '56) 271-72. A review of recent geographical writings on the cultural and agricultural aspects of the banana-like *ensete edule*.  
8848 STARK, FREYA. "From Tarsus to Lake

Van." *R.C.A.J.* 43 (Ja '56) 7-19. A motor trip, with emphasis on the geography and history of the area. Illust.

- 8849 SUKHAREVA, O. A. "On the historical topography of Bukhara in the first half of the 16th century." (in Russian) *Izvest. Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 153-66.

## HISTORY (Ancient, medieval)

- 8850 DANNENFELDT, KARL H. "The renaissance humanist and the knowledge of Arabic." *Studies in the Renaissance* (New York) 2 (1955) 96-117.  
8851 DUPREE, LOUIS. "Afghanistan between east and west." *R.C.A.J.* 43 (Ja '56) 52-60. Outline of the six major invasions of Afghanistan from the 2nd cent. B.C. to 1222 A.D.  
8852 GIBB, H. A. R. "Evolution of government in early Islam." *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955) 5-17. Fresh insights into the significance of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphates. An important article for all who are concerned with the principles of government as developed by the Arabs.  
8853 GIBB, H. A. R. "The influence of Islamic culture on medieval Europe." *Bull. John Rylands Library* 38 (S '55) 82-98.  
8854 KHAN, M. A. "Jizyah and kharāj." *J. Pak. Hist. S.* 4 (Ja '56) 27-35. An attempt to clarify these two technical terms as they were used in

the system of Muslim taxation in the 1st cent. A.H.

- 8855 MINORSKY, V. "The Aq-Qoyunlu and land reforms (Turkmenica 11) *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 449-62. (1) Uzun Hasan and his qânûn (i.e. penal code), (2) Qâdi 'Isâ's reform under Sultan Ya'qûb, (3) the policy of Ahmâd-beg Aq-qoyunlu.
- 8856 NEGMATOV, N. N. "Usrushana in the struggle with the Arab invasion (from the end of the 7th—early 9th centuries)." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 117-35.
- 8857 SAMADI, S. B. "Social and economic aspects of life under the Abbasid hegemony at Baghdad." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (O '55) 237-45. Varied information, partly from second-hand sources.
- 8858 SCHIMMEL, A. "Zur Biographie des Abû 'Abdallâh b. Chafîf ash-Shirâzî." *Welt des Orients* (Göttingen) 1955, 193-99. Survey of data on the 10th cent. mystic.
- 8859 SCHMIDT, G. "The influences of the Islamic world on European civilization." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Jl '55) 191-214. Rather superficial search for influences, ranging from religion via science to economics and literature, some rather doubtful. Includes a page of *Notes* by the editor of *Islamic Culture* refuting various statements of the author about the Prophet.
- 8860 TURAN, OSMAN. "The ideal of world domination among the medieval Turks." *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955) 77-90. Both in pre- and in post-Islamic times the Turks consciously clung to the view that God had destined them to rule the world, and even peoples of the West came to admit the pre-eminence of the Turks as the weight of their politico-military power became manifest. This sense of superiority led the Turks to treat their subjects with justice and religious tolerance. See also: 8842, 8848, 8849, 8888, 8903, 8962, 8968.

## HISTORY AND POLITICS (Modern)

- 8861 "New Egypt displays its power." *Life* (Chicago) 40 (Ap 16 '56) 29-34. Pictures of Egyptian soldiers undergoing training. A frank interview with Prime Minister Nasser who claims that the Soviets "have dealt with us honorably" while "Israeli weapons, paid for by American citizens, have killed Egyptians on the Gaza front."
- 8862 ALIEV, G. A. "The development of socialist culture in Tajikistan." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostok.* 1, no. 3 (1955) 96-107. Pride in the past (Rudagi, Daqiqi, Ferdowsi, and Ibn Sina were all Tajiks!) and in the achievements of the Soviet era.
- 8863 BAER, G. "The conflict over the administration of Coptic waqfs in Egypt." (in Hebrew, with Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 4 (1955) 281-83. This landed property, for the

regulation of which the Copts utilize certain provisions of the Muslim law, has been for many years a bone of contention among the monasteries, clergy, and the secular elements of the Coptic community.

- 8864 FARMER, GENE. "The leaders behind Algeria's rebellion." *Life* (Chicago) 40 (Je 4 '56) 146 ff. Vivid, sympathetic, first-hand account of an interview in Cairo with the real leaders of the anti-French rebels. The author urges France to make important political concessions, since even though the nationalists may lose "three wars or twenty, France can afford to lose but one."
- 8865 GLUBB, JOHN BAGOT. "Glubb tells how our mid-east enemies work." *Life* 40 (F 16 '56) 145-56. Surveys the "chaotic scene" and concludes that the U. S. and the U. K. must unite to save the Near East from itself and communism, but fails to outline a program of action.
- 8866 GORDLEVSKII, V. A. "Was the sultan of Turkey caliph?" *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 17-27. Notes on the Turkish claims to the Islamic office; supplement to Barthold's investigation. The claims arose in the 17th century when Turkey was growing steadily weaker and therefore eager to obtain the help of other Muslims.
- 8867 HADAS, YOSEF. "The Maronite church after the death of the patriarch 'Arida." (in Hebrew, with Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 4 (1955) 261-69. The new patriarch Ma'ushi has introduced an era of greater dependence of the Maronite Church on the Vatican. "Maronite influence on Lebanese foreign policy is likely to be less anti-Arab, less pro-French, rather more pro-American, and more strongly anti-Communist; the community's attitude toward Israel will be determined by the Vatican's outlook rather than by the Maronites' regional interest in the existence of another non-Muslim state."
- 8868 HAHN, LORNA H. "Tunisia in transition." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Ap '56) 132-37. Although the author does not minimize the problems facing Tunisia, she adopts a generally optimistic view of the future because the country's leaders are realistic and constructive-minded.
- 8869 HAIM, SYLVIA G. "Islam and the theory of Arab nationalism." *Welt des Islams* 4, no. 2-3 (1955) 124-49. A valuable analysis of the views of such modern thinkers as al-Husri and Ziyâdah.
- 8870 HENZE, PAUL B. "Politics and alphabets in inner Asia." *R.C.A.J.* 43 (Ja '56) 29-51. The Soviets have imposed alphabetic and linguistic changes in Central Asia for imperialistic purposes. Therefore, future language modifications in this part of the world will undoubtedly have political significance, particularly as regards the nature of Russo-Chinese relations.
- 8871 HOURANI, CECIL. "The new Egyptian constitution." *Mid. East Forum* 31 (Mr '56) 7-9. It

- would seem that this constitution has been designed as an instrument of policy rather than as a document describing governmental functions. An effort to find parallels in English and American constitutional practice are for that reason meaningless.
- 8872 IVANOV, M. S. "From the history of American imperialist expansion in Iran; the Morgan Shuster mission of 1911." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostok*, 1, no. 2 (1955) 96-106. The mission was not an episode but a link in a systematic plot. Quotations from several Russian archival documents.
- 8873 IVANOVA, M. N. "The national liberation movement in the Gilan province of Iran in 1920-1921." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostok*, 1, no. 3 (1955) 46-55. On the rise of a communist party in a politically disturbed situation.
- 8874 JERREHIAN, RITA. "Metamorphosis of the Armenian question." *Armenian Rev.* 9 (spring '56) 110-29. Prior to World War I Armenians sought to obtain reforms within the Turkish Empire. Numerous developments affecting the Armenians during the war led to the formulation of plans for establishing a new Armenian state and determining its functions.
- 8875 KERR, MALCOLM. "Who speaks for the Arabs?" *Mid. East Forum* 31 (My '56) 15-17. A survey of the activities conducted by various Arab and pro-Arab groups engaged in presenting the Arab viewpoint to Americans.
- 8876 LANDAU, JACOB M. "Due progetti per la colonizzazione del Sudan al principio del secolo XX." *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* (Rome) 21, no. 6 (1955) 3-22. These two attempts at forming a non-Palestine Jewish state failed largely because the Egyptians and the English did not want the land of the headwaters of the Nile to be occupied by foreign peoples. There was also fear of an eventual conflict between the new colonists and the Egyptian potentates in the Sudan.
- 8877 LANDAU, JACOB M. "Notes on the introduction of ministerial responsibility into Egypt." *J. Mod. Hist.* 28 (Mr '56) 21-34. While the concept of ministerial responsibility in the modern sense seems to have been understood in late 19th century Egypt, except for two very brief periods of time there were no true cabinet governments despite the 1923 and 1930 constitutions. In practice both Fu'ad and Fārūq ruled alone.
- 8878 LAQUEUR, WALTER Z. "The shifting line in Soviet orientalology." *Problems of Communism* (Washington) 5 (Mr-Ap '56) 20-26. An interesting and well-documented account of the exploitation of scholars and scholarship in the interests of national policy. The 1954 revival of oriental studies in the Soviet Union is significantly related to the new diplomatic offensive being waged against the non-communist countries of Asia.
- 8879 MANUEL, FRANK E. "The Palestine question in Italian diplomacy, 1917-1920." *J. Mod. Hist.* 27 (S '55) 263-80. Utilizes Italian archival material.
- 8880 MARTIN, H. G. "The Soviet Union and the Middle East." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (F '56) 49-56. Following a lucid background sketch, the familiar exhortation for a united Anglo-American effort to repel the communist threat. The author views with favor large-scale American foreign aid, committed on a long-term basis, as the main component of "that common policy which alone is likely to succeed."
- 8881 MELAMID, ALEXANDER. "The Buraimi oasis dispute." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (F '56) 56-63. It is questionable whether the Buraimi question will be solved apart from the larger issue of a united Anglo-American policy in the Middle East."
- 8882 MÉNAGE, V. L. "Sidelights on the *deushirme* from Idris and Sa'duddin." *B.S.O.A.S.* 18, no. 1 (1956) 181-83. Mainly an extract from Idris' *Hasht Bihišt*.
- 8883 PAUL, A. "Some aspects of the Fung sultunate." *Sudan Notes & Records* 35 (D '54) 17-31. An account of the origins, geographical extent, army, and administrative organization of the Fungs, alleged to have a considerable amount of Arab blood in their veins, who dominated the central Sudan from 1504 to about 1800.
- 8884 PAUL, A. "Tewfik Bey." *Sudan Notes & Records* 35 (Je '54) 132-37. Mohammed Bey Tewfik al Masri was a Cretan Jew who served with great distinction as an officer in the Egyptian army during the 80's of the last century.
- 8885 PERLMANN, M. "Egypt versus the Bagdad pact." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Mr '56) 95-101. The Western Powers are inclined to appease the Nasser regime in order to prevent closer Arab relations with the Soviet Union.
- 8886 PERLMANN, M. "Memoirs of Rose Fatima al-Yusuf." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Ja '56) 20-27. Rose al-Yusuf is the militant publisher of a weekly Cairo political magazine and her memoirs, perhaps the first written in Arabic by a woman, reveal an exciting personality. Her book contains much of interest on the Egyptian theatre (she had been a talented actress) as well as on pre-Nasser politics.
- 8887 RABBATH, EDMOND. "The problem of Arab unity." *Mid. East Forum* 3 (Ap '56) 9-11. The author feels that the Arabs must unite, otherwise there will be a "final catastrophe." To avert this fate he proposes a Federal Union plan in which the several Arab countries would maintain their individual personalities in return for sacrificing a portion of their sovereignty.
- 8888 RAHIM, A. "The origins of the Afghans and their rise to the sultanate of Dihli." *J. Pak. Hist.* 8, 4 (Ja '56) 64-70. Refutes the theory of the Jewish origin of the Afghans which was first propounded by the 17th century chronicler Ni'matal-

- lāh. Owing to the poverty of the soil the Afghans left their original homes and in 766 A.D. seized Peshawar. Their virtues were appreciated by Subuktigin who used them freely in his armies.
- 889g ROSENSTOCK, MORTON. "The establishment of the consistorial system in Algeria." *Jew. Soc. Stud.* (New York) 17 (Ja '56) 41-54. An interesting account of the steps taken from the middle of the 19th century to transform Algerian Jews into French Jews.
- 889g RUDIN, HARRY R. "The problem of colonialism." *Current Hist.* 30 (Mr '56) 129-34. A sharp criticism of the United States policy in the Middle East and North Africa charging America with "ambiguity," support of "imperialism," and failure to give sufficient aid to Egypt to help solve her cotton surplus problem.
- 889i SANDERSON, G. N. "Emir Suleyman ibn Inger Abdullah." *Sudan Notes & Records* 35 (Je '54) 22-74. Detailed record of an episode in the Anglo-French conflict on the upper Nile, 1896-98.
- 889g SOFER, NA'IM. "The integration of Arab Palestine in the Jordan kingdom." (in Hebrew, with Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 3 (1955) 189-96. The conflict between the Palestinians, who form two-thirds of the population, and the older Jordanians has not yet been resolved. The former complain that they are unfairly represented in parliament, discriminated against in civil service, army, and financial matters. Nevertheless, the government seems to be making progress in its efforts to make Arab Palestine a loyal part of the kingdom.
- 889g TVERITINOVA, A. S. "The falsified version of the Turkish caliphate." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 167-80. Relying on Barthold, the author proceeds to show that Turkish authors of the 19th cent., including young-Turk ideologists, were eager to prop up the caliphal claim in non-Turkish areas.
- 889g VUCINICH, WAYNE S. "The Yugoslav lands in the Ottoman period: postwar Marxist interpretations of indigenous and Ottoman institutions." *J. Mod. Hist.* 27 (S '55) 287-305. Summary of Yugoslav literature on the subject.
- I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 4 (1955) 461-80. Considers the moral aspects of one of the gravest problems confronting Tunisia today and defines the obligations of government and private business.
- 889g DE BERNIS, G. D. "Comment peut-on analyser le chômage en Tunisie?" *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 4 (1955) 437-60. Unemployment in Tunisia, unlike that in Western Europe where it is the incidental result of transient phenomena, is a "structural" characteristic of the country. Accordingly, it cannot be dealt with unless there is a radical transformation of the base of the national economy.
- 889g DE MONTMARIN, A. and DE BERNIS, G. "Industrialisation et plein emploi en Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 18 no. 4 (1955) 395-436. Industrialization is absolutely essential for Tunisia. The problems are so numerous and of such magnitude that they can be solved only by government planning and supervision.
- 889g FAWZI, SAAD EL DIN. "Joint consultation in Sudan industry." *Sudan Notes and Records* 35 (D '54) 32-49. The labor movement in the Sudan is barely 10 years old. One significant development is the attempt to promote closer relations between labor and management through the formation of Works Committees, which are here critically analyzed.
- 8900 GRUNWALD, K. "The industrialization of Iraq." (in Hebrew, Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 3 (1955) 197-206. Although progress has been slow to date, the foundations have been soundly laid and development is certain to proceed at an increasingly rapid rate.
- 8901 AL-HABIB, MAHMUD M. "The labor movement in Iraq." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Ap '56) 137-43. Organized labor is still in its infancy, a state that threatens to exist a long time owing to the lack of sympathy on the part of government and industry and to the ignorance and inexperience of union officials.
- 8902 HAUENSTEIN, FRITZ. "West Germany and the Middle East." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Ja '56) 11-19. Facts and figures on German trade with the area. Given the public's interest in the Orient which springs from political considerations and romantic antiquarian notions, this trade is surprisingly small.
- 8903 HERSHLAG, Z. Y. "Sources and essence of Turkish étatism, II." (in Hebrew, Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 2 (1955) 98-113. Describes the Turkish economy during the past 10 years which have seen the gradual withering away of étatism as a national policy.
- 8904 HOENERBACH, W. "Das zunft- und marktwesen und seine verwaltung im heutigen Teutuan." *Welt des Islams* 4, no. 203 (1955) 79-123. An account of the topography, guilds, markets, and the muhtasib's office. Based on original documents.

## ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)

889g BUGEOT, L. "Quelques exemples de réalisations dans le cadre des structures actuelles de la Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 4 (1955) 503-19. Outlines the results of attempts to alleviate unemployment by some farmers, industrialists, and engineers.

889g CALLENS, M. "Propriété et sous-emploi."

- 8905 MARTELLOT, P. "Juxtaposition en Tunisie d'une économie traditionnelle et d'une économie moderne." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 4 (1955) 481-501. Describes the salient features of the urban and rural sectors. The urban or modern section has thus far been unable to absorb people leaving the countryside, and therein lies a growing danger which will explode unless adequate measures are taken in time.
- 8906 OWEN, DAVID. "International technical aid to the Middle East." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Ja '56) 1-10. Review of the underlying conditions and scope of the U. N. technical assistance program by the chairman of the board of UNTA.
- 8907 RANDALL, CLARENCE B. "The case for a friend in need." *Life* (Chicago) 40 (My 7 '56) 115-20. Following an on-the-spot survey of Turkey, the noted American industrialist concluded that the economic future of the country was bright, despite the current difficulties. He details here the reasons for his optimistic forecast.
- 8908 SANDISON, P. J. "Problems of low-cost housing in the Sudan." *Sudan Notes & Records* 35 (Je '54) 75-109. Deals only with urban housing in the northern Sudan.
- 8909 WINSLOW, HALL. "Homes within reach." *Mid. East Forum* 91 (Ap '56) 12-16. The Iraq Petroleum Company has been operating in Kirkuk a well-conceived and apparently successfully implemented scheme of building homes for private ownership by its employees. This detailed article merits study by all Middle East businessmen who sense the need of planning suitable homes for their workers. Illust.
- See also:* 8844, 8847.

### SOCIAL AFFAIRS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and health, religion, law)

- 8910 "Neolithic folk today." *Life* (Chicago) 40 (Ap '56) 74-98. An illustrated story of the way of life of Berber tribesmen living in the valley of the Dadès River in French Morocco.
- 8911 BEN-HANANIA, Y. "Some problems of the Christian minorities in Arab countries." (in Hebrew, Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 4 (1955) 279-81. Discusses Christian converts to Islam and the situation of Christian institutions in Jordan as affected by recent legislation.
- 8912 BERQUE, JAQUES. "Dans le delta du Nil: le village et l'histoire." *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955) 91-109. A study of the Egyptian peasant.
- 8913 CULWICK, G. M. "Some problems of social survey in the Sudan." *Sudan Notes and Records* 35 (Je '54) 110-31. Conclusions drawn from three recent surveys on diet, money, and family budgets.
- 8914 CUNNISON, I. "The Humr and their lands."
- 8915 D'EMILIA, ANTONIO. "Il diritto musulmano comparato con il bizantino dal punto di vista della tipologia del diritto." *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955) 57-76.
- 8916 GERSHEVITCH, ILYA. "Word and spirit in Ossetic." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 478-89. Ossetic *uac-* in the names of some gods means not "saint" but "spirit," and is not connected with *uac* "news" or "word" (which gave rise to the idea that the Ossetes know the Logos), but is from Old Iranian *wāxš* "spirit." Also some remarks on the religious background.
- 8917 HANI, N. "Higher education in Iraq." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Ap '56) 129-32. An outline of college level instruction.
- 8918 JÄSCHKE, GOTTHARD. "Die christliche Mission in der Türkei." *Saeculum* 7, no. 1 (1956) 68-78. An historical sketch of missionary activity in Turkey.
- 8919 JÄSCHKE, GOTTHARD. "Die 'Imam-ehe' in der Türkei." *Welt des Islams* 4, no. 2-3 (1955) 164-201. The tendency was for the qādī to become empowered to give away a woman in marriage by proxy as her master-representative.
- 8920 KISLIAKOV, N. A. "Ethnographic materials on the Isfara Tajiks." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 43-56. Observations made in 1951 on a field trip to the area.
- 8921 KRAEMER, JÖRG. "Tradition and reform at al-Azhar university." *Mid. East. Aff.* 7 (Mr '56) 89-94. This venerable institution has changed the outer forms of teaching, but not the substance. The demand for reform is directed not toward modernization in spirit and form but toward reviving the methods followed during the golden age of Islam.
- 8922 LEWIS, I. M. "Sufism in Somaliland: A study in tribal Islam, I, II." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 581-602; *ibid.* 18, no. 1 (1956) 145-60. Studies the connection between the Somali lineage system and the lineage basis (both genealogical and spiritual) of the Sufi orders; the chief Sufi orders of the region; the role of Sufism as a supra-tribal force; Cushitic relations; Sufism and Syncretism; the Sab (a pariah class).
- 8923 RAHMAN, F. "International religious developments in the present century Islam." *J. World Hist.* 2, no. 4 (1955).
- 8924 REED, H. A. "Turkey's new imam-hatip schools." *Welt des Islams* 4, no. 2-3 (1955) 150-63. Sketches their development, curriculum, organization, and administration. "Here is a serious popularly-supported effort to overcome the ignorance and lack of interest of a generation."
- 8925 TAESCHNER, F. "Ein gebet am schlusse der feier der 'Nacht der bestimmung' (*Lailat ul-qadr; kadir gecesi*)."*Welt des Islams* 4, no. 2-3 (1955)

202-12. Text and translation of a collective sermon-invocation at the Suleymaniye in May 1955. See also: 888g, 8896, 8905, 8929, 8930, 8937.

## SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

- 8926 GOICHON, A.-M. "Philosophie et histoire des sciences." *Cahiers de Tunisie* 3, no. 1 (9) (1955) 17-40. Surveying recent studies on Avicenna with reference to oriental *hikmah*, the author suggests that there was indeed a genuine Persian scientific tradition comparable to the modern approach.
- 8927 KHAN, M. A. R. "Further elucidation of technical matters discussed in Ibn al-Awwām's *Kitāb al-filāha*." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (O '55) 275-82.
- 8928 LYONS, M. C. "An Arabic translation of the Commentary of Themistius (on Aristotle's *De anima*)." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 426-35. With one photograph. A specimen from a Qarawiyīn Ms., with notes, Greek text, and glossary.
- 8929 ROSENTHAL, ERWIN I. J. "The place of politics in the philosophy of al-Farabi." *Islamic Cult.* 29, no. 3 (Jl '55) 157-78. Analysis of the philosopher's views on the qualifications of the *imām* and their influence on Averroes.
- 8930 SERJEANT, R. B. "Folk remedies from Hadramawt." *B.S.O.A.S.* 18 no. 1 (1956) 5-8. A translated chapter from *Hilyat al-banāt wal-banīn* by Muḥ. Bahraq (869-930/1465-1524 A.D.) on remedies "clearly taken from Ḥaḍrāmī practice" and partly still in use.

See also: 8978, 8979.

## ART

(*Archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts and papyri, minor arts, numismatics and philately, painting and music*)

- 8931 DIAKONOV, M. M. and DASHEVSKII, Y. S. "Late miniatures of Qāsim 'Alī in a ms. of the State Public Library in Leningrad." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 29-41. A volume of folklore on the Shi'ite imams *Ahsan al-kibār* (14th cent.) copied under the Safavids (in 1526). 35 miniatures by the master.
- 8932 ERDMANN, KURT. "Zu einem anatolischen teppichfragment aus Fostat." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* (Istanbul) 6 (1955) 42-52, illust. Careful analysis of a small carpet fragment in the Cairo art market whose design is close to that of the fresco of Domenico di Bartolo in Siena of about 1440 and nearly complete carpets in the Berlin Museum. All show a stylized phoenix fighting a dragon in a series of fields. Important conclusions about the early history of "animal carpets" from early 15th cent. Anatolia.
- 8933 GOETZ, H. "The problem of the origin of two medieval Indo-Persian miniatures." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Jl '55) 179-83, 2 photographs. Two miniatures (of *Laila-Majnūn* and *Farhad-o-Shirin*) executed about 1500 showing the transition from Persian to Indian technique. Includes a list of known pre-Mughal paintings.
- 8934 GRAY, BASIL. "Art under the Mongol dynasties of China and Persia." *Oriental Art* (Oxford) new ser. 1 (winter '55) 159-67. Contains a general account of the arts in Iran in the late 13th and first half of the 14th centuries. Three of its 7 text figures refer to Islamic material, one illustrating a newly found illuminated *Kalilah wa Dimnah* ms. copied in Shiraz in 733/1333 A.D., now in the British Museum.
- 8935 LISCI, LEONARDO GINORI. "Una serie di vassoi di porcellana della prima epoca di Doccia." *Faenza* 41, no. 6 (1955) 127-32. Reconstruction of a series of oral porcelain trays made about 1740 with Turkish figural subjects modelled after the paintings of the Veronese-Florentine artist Jacopo Ligozzi (1547-2637). Interesting documents for the Turkish influence on European art of the 18th cent.
- 8936 MUKHTAROV, A. "The inscription of Sultan Zahiruddin in Babur (1483-1530) upon a stone in Match." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* 5 (1954) 109-15. The sultan mentioned an inscription in his memoirs. The author of the article searched for and found the inscription, a verse from Sa'di that was carved in 917/1511-2 A.D.
- 8937 RICE, S. D. "A Muslim shrine at Harrān." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 436-48. The sanctuary of Shaykh Ḥayāt; biography of the saint and some textual material.
- 8938 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Behzad, a reformer of Islamic painting." *Egypt Travel Mag.* 17 (D '55) 21-25, illust. Popular discussion of the famous miniatures by the noted Persian artist Behzad in a ms. of Sa'di's *Bustān* painted in Herat in 1488 and now in the Egyptian Library in Cairo.
- 8939 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Mamluk brocades." *Egypt Travel Mag.* 15 (O '55) 21-25, illust. Richly decorated silk fabrics made in Egypt between 1250 and 1517, several with names of Mamluk sultans. A continuation of the series in which the director of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo discusses the various groups of objects in his vast museum.
- 8940 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Musicians on Fatimid objects of art." *Egypt Travel Mag.* 16 (N '55) 21-25, illust. Brief treatment of representations of musicians on wood earrings and pottery, and of a bronze statuette, all made during the Fatimid period (969-1171) and now in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art.
- 8941 MULKY, ROBERT. "Painters and sculptors of Alexandria." *Mid. East Forum* 31 (My '56)

- 18-26. Alexandria is gaining increasing fame as a center of Arab art. Appreciative note of a number of leading artists. Illust.
- 8942 ROSENTHAL, FRANZ. "From Arabic books and manuscripts." *J.A.O.S.* 76 (Ja-Mr '56) 27-31. Description of some minor *Kindi* and *Sarakhsî* texts found in Istanbul libraries.
- 8943 SCHROEDER, ERIC. "Scientific description of art." *J. Nr. East. Stud.* 15 (Ap '56) 93-102. An analysis of D. N. Wilber's *Architecture of Islamic Iran: the Il Khanid Period*, with suggestions as to how architecture as an art and not as a mere building process should be handled. Part of the analysis is highly imaginative interpretation. The conclusions on the character of Mongol architecture in Iran are most stimulating.
- 8944 ULLENDORFF, E. E. "The Ethiopic inscription from Egypt." *J.R.A.S.* no. 3-4 (1955) 159-61. Notes on an article by E. Littmann in *J.R.A.S.* 1954, p. 119 ff.
- 8945 WALKER, JOHN. "Two Arab Byzantine dinars." *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 20, no. 1 (1955) 15-16. Two important gold dinars of the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, one dated 76/695 A.D., a year before this caliph's coin reform. The dated coin has an effigy of the ruler in Arab dress with a sword, a characteristic transformation of the Byzantine prototype with the figure of the emperor. Both coins have changed "the cross placed on steps," on the reverse, into an innocuous small globe on a post.
- 8946 ZICK, J. "Islamic art in Berlin today." *Oriental Art*, new ser. 1 (winter '55) 167-72. Account of the two public Islamic collections in Berlin, the Islamic Museum in East Berlin, and the Islamic Galleries in Dahlem Museum in West Berlin. Two of the seven illustrations show the modern display methods in Dahlem; two others the galleries in the East Berlin Museum, also the famous Graf Dragon rug in its half-destroyed state and after its reconstruction, and a newly acquired Seljuq stone sculpture.
- See also:* 8976, 8977.
- ### LANGUAGE
- 8947 ANDRZEJEWSKI, B. W. "Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaac dialect of Somali." *B.S.O.A.S.* 18, no. 1 (1956) 103-29. Interrelation of tone, stress, and grammatical category.
- 8948 ANDRZEJEWSKI, B. W. "The problem of vowel representation in the Isaac dialect of Somali." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 567-80. Lucid exposition of the system of vowel harmony and its operation in connected speech. Because of the delicate adjustments due to style and speed of utterance, it is better not to represent vowel harmony in any but the narrowest transcription.
- 8949 BAILEY, H. W. "Iranian *mīṣā*, Indian *bija*." *B.S.O.A.S.* 18, no. 1 (1956) 32-42. Khotanese *mīṣā* "seed-field," Skr. *bija-m* "seed," establish an Indo-European meig- "sow" not traced outside Indo-Iranian.
- 8950 BATMANOV, I. A. "The parts of speech in Kirghiz." (in Russian) *Voprosy Yazykoznania* (Moscow) 2 (Mr-Ap '55) 66-78.
- 8951 BENVENISTE, E. "Un lexique du Yagnobi." *J. Asiat.* 243, no. 2 (1955) 139-62. This modern Iranian dialect is spoken in the Valley of the Yagnob, a tributary of the Zarafshan River which flows northwest of the oasis of Samarkand. Yagnobi is perhaps the most important of the Pamir dialects since it is the only surviving remnant of Sogdian, a major international language spoken 10 centuries ago.
- 8952 CLAUSON, GERARD. "Turkish ghost words." *J.R.A.S.* no. 3-4 (1955) 124-38. Discussion of mistranslations and misattributions (e.g. of Mongol words in Turkic) as sources of words in dictionaries, in some cases in modern reformed Turkish.
- 8953 EDMONDS, C. J. "Prepositions and personal affixes in southern Kurdish." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 490-502.
- 8954 HENNING, W. B. "The Middle-Persian word for 'beer'." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 603-4. A Syriac and Mandaean passage establish that the word is *waš(a)k*, possibly connected with modern Persian (*w*)*uše*, Arabic (*w*)*ušaq* "gum ammoniac" or "Persian ammoniacum."
- 8955 KONONOV, A. N. "On the semantics of the words *kara* and *ak* in Turkic geographic terminology." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* (Stalinabad) 5 (1954) 83-85. *Kara* often means "earth-like, non-moving"; *ak*, on the other hand, means "movable, flowing." *Kara-kum* means "non-moving sand; *ak-kum* "moving sand."
- 8956 LIVSHITS, V. A. "On the immanent laws of development of the Tajik language." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* 5 (1954) 86-102.
- 8957 MANDELSHTAM, A. M. "On the meaning of the term 'chakir'." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* 5 (1954) 103-8. This term was applied during the 7-8th cent. to the professional soldiers in the service of big landlords and local rulers.
- 8958 NEMENOVA, R. L. "Some peculiarities of Tajik speech in the region of Baljuan." (in Russian) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* 5 (1954) 137-46.
- 8959 NIIOZI, SH. "On the parts of speech in Tajik." (in Tajik, Cyrillic script) *Izvest., Akad. Nauk Tajik SSR* 5 (1954) 147-52.
- 8960 ORUZBAIEVA, B. "A scientific session on problems of Kirghiz linguistics." (in Russian) *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya* (Moscow) 3 (My-Je '55) 142-46.
- 8961 PALMER, F. R. "The 'broken plurals' of Tigrinya." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 548-66. Along the lines of Firthian linguistics; establishes

- somewhat complicated rules for the correspondence between singular and plural vowels.
- 8962 PETRÁČEK, KAREL. "Die struktur der semitischen wurzelmorpheme und der übergang 'ainȳgain und 'ainȳr im arabischen." *Archiv Orient.* 23 (1955) 475-78.
- 8963 RABIN, C. "The beginnings of classical Arabic." *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955) 19-37. Much speculation regarding the source and place of origin of the language of the poets and of the Qur'ān, which "is seen to stand at the end of a development, not at its beginning."
- 8964 SMIRNOVA, O. I. and BOGOLIUBOV, M. N. "The Soghdian devashtich." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostok.* 1, no. 3 (1944) 142-43. While in Manichaean texts it may mean "diabolical," in the title of the Soghdian anti-Arab chieftain it is merely a *nisbah* "from Devasht."
- 8965 YUNUSALIEV, B. M. "The problem of the formation of an all-Kirghiz language." (in Russian) *Voprosy Yazykoznanija* (Moscow) 2 (Mr-Ap '55) 28-41.
- See also:* 8916, 8967.
- ## LITERATURE
- 8966 'ARAFAT, W. "An interpretation of the different accounts of the visit of the Tamim delegation to the Prophet in A. H. 9." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 416-25. The poems attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit are not by him; one version of the story has clearly Shi'ite tendencies. The whole story is a much inflated version of the incident.
- 8967 BERTELS, E. "On the philological basis of the study of oriental literary works." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostok.* 1, no. 3 (1955) 11-18. An apology for the study of texts. Such work is not an escape into the past, but a vital prerequisite for attaining an accurate understanding of modern languages and literatures.
- 8968 BOYCE, MARY. "Zariadres and Zarēr." *B.S.O.A.S.* 17, no. 3 (1955) 463-77. Concludes that this story of Zariadres and Odatis in Athenaeus was originally Median. Its inclusion in a debased form in the *Shāhnāme* is due to similarity of name between Hystaspes, Z's brother, and Gush-tāsp, and Z and Zairwairi, G's brother in one version. Thus, there is no evidence that the Kayanian legends of the *Shāhnāme* were known to the Achaemenids. More probably they were later collected in northeast Persia.
- 8969 FARIQ, K. A. "Umayyad poetry: its political and social background." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (O '55) 256-66. Interesting study of the relations between poetry and politics, and the differences between Iraqi, Syrian, and Hijazi poetry.
- 8970 GUILLAUME, ALFRED. "A note on the *sīra* of Ibn Ishāq." *B.S.O.A.S.* 18, no. 1 (1956) 1-4. Translation of some quotations from Ibn Ishāq preserved in the *Dalā'il an-nubuwāwa* of Abū Nu'aim al-Isfahāni but not in Ibn Hishām.
- 8971 HUSEIN, TAHĀ. "Prefazione alla 'Storia della letteratura araba' di C. A. Nallino." *Oriente Mod.* 35 (Ap '55) 185-90. A reminiscent appreciation of Nallino's lectures at the Egyptian University in 1910-1911. "Le lezioni del prof. Nallino . . . furono direttamente o indirettamente la prima guida del nostro rinnovamento scientifico nello studio della letteratura."
- 8972 KARAHAN, ABDÜLKADIR. "Aperçu général sur les 'Quarante hadiths' dans la littérature islamique." *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955) 39-55. A study of this literary genre which has faithfully mirrored the socio-religious aspects of the Muslim way of life through the centuries as well as the personality and moral traits of the various compilers and commentators.
- 8973 KENSDALE, W.E.N. "Field notes on the Arabic literature of the western Sudan: Shehu usumanu dan Fodio." *J.R.A.S.*, no. 3-4 (1955) 162-68. Information on the Ibadan collection of over 150 Nigerian Arabic mss., and on 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Fūdī (18th cent.), father of Muḥammad Bello, with a listing of 85 of his works.
- 8974 KHAZOUR, ELIYAHU. "Jubran Khalil Jubran—his personality and sources of inspiration." (in Hebrew, Eng. summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 6, no. 4 (1955) 270-78. Blake, Shelley, and Nietzsche greatly influenced Jubran. His love of man became stronger as he grew older and developed a kind of "undenominational Christianity." It remains to be seen whether this mystic poet has exerted an abiding impact on the Arabic reading public.
- 8975 LANDAU, JACOB M. "Aziz Domet, d'origine araba, poeta, scrittore di romanzi e opere drammatiche di soggetto orientale in lingua tedesca (1890-1943)." *Oriente Mod.* 35 (Je '55) 277-89. Domet courageously attacked such evils as immorality in family life, the low status of women, relations between minorities, and religious matters.
- 8976 MAKDISI, GEORGE. "Autograph diary of an eleventh-century historian of Baghdad, I." *B.S.O.A.S.* 18, no. 1 (1956) 9-31. A ms. covering the year 4460-61 A. H. of the diary of Abū 'Ali b. al-Bannā' (396-471/1005-1079 A.D.). Life and works of the author and general character of the diary.
- 8977 MEREDITH-OWENS, G. "A tenth century Arabic miscellany." *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 20, no. 2 (1955) 33-34. A short announcement of a newly acquired important ms. in *naskh* writing (though with reminiscences of Kufic) written by a Persian scribe from Isfahan in 320/941 A.D. It contains a work by al-Fārābī, chapters of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, a grammatical treatise by al-Kisā'i, an epitomized translation of Plato's *De*

- Legibus*, translations after Hippocrates and a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on physiognomy.
- 8978 PRAKASH, BUDDHA. "Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of history." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Jl '55, O '55) 184-90, 225-36. Deals with the khanate of Kipchaq under the Golden Horde. The final triumph of sedentary culture over nomadic society.
- See also: 8858, 8882, 8928, 8931.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 8979 "Références." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 4 (1955) 515-40. Classified, but annotated bibliography of periodical articles from July 1 to December 31, 1955, drawn from approximately 100 journals dealing chiefly with North Africa.
- 8980 DRESCH, JEAN. "Quelques ouvrages récents sur le Moyen-Orient." *Rev. Hist.* Ja-Mr '56.
- 8981 VAJDA, G. "Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina." *Rev. des Etudes Islam.* 22 (1954) 163-66. Notes on and some corrections to the Arabic bibliography of Anawati and the Persian bibliography of Mahdavi.
- 8982 YOHANNAN, JOHN D. "Persian literature: a basic booklist." *Literature East & West* (New York) 58-1. Books in English for the small library.

### BIOGRAPHY

- 8983 BREADY, JAMES H. "The archaeologist." *Johns Hopkins Mag.* (Baltimore) 7 (D '55) 4-6. An appreciation of the work of the famous orientalist William Foxwell Albright.

### MISCELLANEOUS

- 8984 "Advertising in the Arab market." *Arab World* 26 (Ja '56) 23-28. Practical suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of advertisements placed in Arabic newspapers.
- 8985 BASHIROV, D. A. "On the results of the congress of Arab authors." *Sov. Vostok.* 1, no. 3 (1955) 136-41. Quotes the resolutions of the September 1954 meetings.
- 8986 CANTERA BURGOS, FRANCISCO. "Los estudios orientales en la España actual." *Oriente Mod.* 35 (My '55) 237-47.
- 8987 DOROSHENKO, E. A. "On historical scholarship in Iran." (in Russian) *Voprosy Ist.* (Moscow) 7 (Jl '55) 187. A useful survey of recent publications.
- 8988 FEDORENKO, V. "The meeting of the delegations of the supporters of peace in Syria and Lebanon with Soviet orientalists." *Sov. Vostok.* 1, no. 3 (1955) 163-64. Held May 13, 1955.
- 8989 PETROV, G. D. and AIMBETOV, K. A. "A scientific conference in the Karakalpak SSR." (in Russian) *Voprosy Yazykoznanija* 3 (My-Je '55) 146-48.

### BOOK REVIEWS

- 8990 *The evolution of public responsibility in the Middle East.* Mid. East Forum 31 (Ap '56) 26. (Elie Salem).
- 8991 *Studies in Tajik grammar* (in Russian). *Voprosy Yazykoznanija* 3 (My-Je '55) 129-34. (L. S. Peisikov).
- 8992 AGHWANI, MOHAMMED SHAFI. *The United States and the Arab World, 1945-1952.* Mid. East Forum 31 (Ap '56) 20. (Nicola Ziadeh).
- 8993 AL-AHWANI, AHMAD FU'AD, ed. *Education in Islam, or Teaching according to al-Qâbisi.* (in Arabic) J.A.O.S. 76 (Ja-Mr '56) 46-48. (George Sarton) Arabic commentary on a medieval pedagogical treatise.
- 8994 ARBERRY, A. J., ed. *Handlist of the Arabic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, I.* J.R.A.S. no. 3-4 (1955) 171. (A. S. Tritton).
- 8995 ARBERRY, A. J., ed. *The legacy of Persia. Literature East & West* (New York) 68-70. (R. Bayly Winder) A critical review, chapter by chapter, of "an instructive, somewhat uneven book, which in balance will largely fulfill the purpose of the series."
- 8996 ARUTIUNIAN, P. T. *The liberation movement of the Armenian people in the first quarter of the XVIII century.* (in Russian) Sov. Vostok. 1 no. 2 (1955) 177-81. (V. A. Kalashian).
- 8997 ATABINEN, RECHID SEFVI. *Les apports turcs dans le peuplement et la civilisation de l'Europe orientale.* *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Jl '55) 218-19. (H. K. Sherwani).
- 8999 BAUSANI, ALESSANDRO. *Il Corano. Oriente Mod.* 35 (Je '55) 292. (E. Rossi); *Welt des Islams* 4, no. 2-3 (1955) 218-19 (R. Paret).
- 9000 BAXTER, P. T. W. and BUTT, AUDREY. *The Azande and related peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.* *Sudan Notes & Records* 35 (D '54) 101-3.
- 9001 BELL, RICHARD. *Introduction to the Qur'an.* *Islamic Cult.* 29 (O '55) 283. (M. A. R. Khan).
- 9002 BONNE, ALFRED. *State and economics in the Middle East.* 2nd ed. R.C.A.J. 43 (Ja '56) 73-74. (Mary Rowlett) "If the reader disagrees with some of the author's deductions, at least he is given ample data from which to draw his own. Therefore, this is a valuable book . . . for all those interested in Middle Eastern affairs."
- 9003 BURHAN, ORHAN. *The report of Lello, third English ambassador to the Sublime Porte.* J. Mod. Hist. 28 (Mr. '56) 62-63. (Arthur Leon Horniker) Lello served in Turkey from 1596-1606.
- 9004 CASKEL, WERNER. *Lihyan und Lihyanisch.* B.S.O.A.S. 17, no. 3 (1955) 616. The anonymous reviewer draws special attention to the effect of Casikel's study on Semitic historical grammar.
- 9005 COTTERELL, LEONARD. *One man's jour-*

- ney. R.C.A.J. 43 (Ja '56) 78. (J. E. F. Gueritz). "The object of Mr. Cottrell's visit to the Middle East in the autumn of 1955 was to report on the activities of the various UN agencies."
- 9006 CRESWELL, K. A. C. *A bibliography of painting in Islam.* J.R.A.S. no. 3-4 (1955) 191. (B. S. Robinson).
- 9007 CURIEL, RAOUL and SCHLUMBERGER, DANIEL. *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan.* Amer. J. of Archaeology 60 (Ap '56) 210-11. (A. R. Bellinger).
- 9008 DEVELLIÖGLU, FERIT. *Türk argosu.* Orient Mod. 35 (Je '55) 291. (E. Rossi).
- 9009 DUNLOP, D. M. *The history of the Jewish Khazars.* B.S.O.A.S. 17, no. 3 (1955) 618-19. (B. Lewis) The reviewer cites references not used by the author.
- 9010 EDDY, WILLIAM. *50 and one jests by Goha.* Mid. East Forum 31 (Ap '56) 25-26. (Rose Ghurayyeb).
- 9011 ELWELL-SUTTON, C. P. *Persian oil. Arab World* 26 (Ja '56) 29-30. "A bitter, shallow, fallacious essay in propaganda" (against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the British Government).
- 9012 FARRUKH, OMAR A. *The Arab genius in science and philosophy.* Mid. East. Aff. 7 (Mr '56) 116-19. (B. E. von Grunebaum) "The current cultural self-evaluation of the Arab world has only slight scientific value."
- 9013 AL-FASI, 'ALAL. *Independence movements in Arab North Africa.* Mid. East Forum 31 (F '56) 33-34. (Nicola Ziadeh) "Essentially a political apologia for North African behaviour against French authorities."
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- 9015 FISHER, SYDNEY NETTLETON, ed. *Social forces in the Middle East.* Arab World 26 (Ja '56) 29. "A work of considerable value to the careful student of affairs;" Mid. East. Aff. 7 (Ap '56) 148-51. (Elmer N. Lear); Internat. Aff. 32 (Ap '56) 240. (Norman N. Lewis). This book describes "not so much the social forces at work in the Middle East . . . as the material on which these forces are working and some of the results of their working."
- 9016 FRYE, RICHARD N. *The history of Bukhara.* B.S.O.A.S. 17, no. 3 (1955) 605. (A. J. Arberry) The reviewer offers corrections of some of the translations.
- 9017 FYZEE, ASAFA A. A. *Outlines of Muhammadan law.* R.C.A.J. 43 (Ja '56) 72-73. (Mary Rowlett).
- 9018 GIL BENUMEYA, RODOLFO. *Andalucismo africano. Oriente Mod.* 35 (My '55) 251. (Salvatore Bono).
- 9019 GOITEIN, S. D. *Jews and Arabs.* Kirjath Sepher 31 (Mr '56) 201-6. (E. Ashtor); Mid. East. Aff. 7 (Ap '56) 151-52. (Franz Rosenthal) "No book could be more timely than this survey of Jewish-Arab relations throughout recorded history. It is as fascinating as it is scholarly, and sensitive and dispassionate at the same time;" Welt des Islams 4 no. 2-3 (1955) 228-29. (S. G. Haim) The title indicates an unhistorical neatness of the concepts of Jews and Arabs as entities. "Depth of analysis is thus lost for the sake of a general picture at the level of the popular mind."
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- 9027 HISAR, ABDÜLHAK SINASI. *Unser guter Fahim Bey.* Orient Mod. 35 (Je '55) 291-92. (E. Rossi).
- 9028 INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT. *The economic development of Syria.* Internat. Aff. 32 (Ap '56) 242. (S. H. Longrigg).
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- 9049 MCFADDEN, TOM J. *Daily journalism in the Arab states*. Orient Mod. 35 (Jl '55) 348. (Ettore Rossi)
- 9050 AN-NĀHI, ṢALĀHADDIN. *Muqaddima fi'l-iqtā' wa-nizām al-arādī fi'l-Iraq*. B.S.O.A.S. 18, no. 1 (1956) 2-3. (J. N. D. Anderson) A useful little booklet on that most difficult subject (land tenure in Iraq).
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- 9067 SOKOLOVA, V. S. *Studies on the phonetics of the Iranian languages.* (in Russian) *Voprosy Yazykoznanija* 2 (Mr-Ap '55) 134-38. (F. Kiazi-mov).
- 9068 STEVENS, GEORGINA C. *The Jordan River Valley.* Mid. East. Aff. 7 (Mr '56) 115-16. (Don Peretz) "A kaleidoscopic view of regional developments in the Arab-Israel area."
- 9069 STROMBERG, KYRA. *Der grosse durst. Welt des Islams* 4, no. 2-3 (1955) 235-36. (H. H. Kanus). A remarkable account of a long trip through Iran in 1953 by an intelligent and sensitive woman. Her book deals chiefly with the attraction of communism, the impact of and attitude toward America, and the changing position of women.
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- 9071 ULLENDORFF, EDWARD. *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia: a comparative phonology.* B.S.O.A.S. 17, no. 3 (1955) 614-15. The reviewer thinks the author underestimates the extent of variations both in modern dialects and in ancient Ethiopic.
- 9072 VAUGHAN, DOROTHY M. *Europe and the Turk.* Mid. East Forum 31 (F '56) 32-33. (Howard A. Reed) "Based almost exclusively on a remarkably rich variety of published occidental sources, this work is a singularly valuable contribution to both Ottoman and European history."
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- 9074 WILBER, DONALD N. *Iran: past and present.* Internat. Aff. 32 (Ap '56) 241. (John Murray).
- 9075 WURM, STEFAN. *Turkic peoples of the USSR.* B.S.O.A.S. 18, no. 1 (1956) 185. (D. Sinor) The book attempts too much in too little space.
- 9076 ZAJACZKOWSKI, ANANIASZ and REYCHMAN, JAN. *Zapys dyplomatyczki osmanskoktureckiej.* B.S.O.A.S. 18, no. 1 (1956) 203.
- 9077 ZIEMKE, K., tr. *Das türkische strafgesetzbuch von 1. März 1926.* Welt des Islams 4, no. 2-3 (1955) 233-35. (G. Jäschke).

## ABBREVIATIONS

A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique	Mag., Magazine	Univ., University, université
Acad., Academy	Mid., Middle	Z., Zeitschrift, Zeitung
Aff., Affairs, affaires	Mod., Modern, moderno, etc.	<i>Arabic</i>
Afr., African, Afrique, etc.	Mus., Museum, musée	K., Kitab, etc.
Amer., American	Natl., National	Maj., Majallah, etc.
Archeol., Archaeological, archéologique	Nr., Near	<i>Russian, Polish, etc.</i>
B., Bulletin	Numis., Numismatic, numismatique	Akad., Akademii
C., Central	O., Oriental, oriente, etc.	Fil., Filosofi
Cent., Century	Pal., Palestine	Inst., Institut
Contemp., Contemporary, etc.	Phil., Philosophical	Ist., Istorii
Cult., Culture	Philol., Philological, Philologique	Izvest., Izvestia
D., Deutsch	Polit., Political, Politique	Lit., Literaturi
Dept., Department	Proceed., Proceedings	Orient., Orientalni
East., Eastern	Quart., Quarterly	Ser., Seriya
Econ., Economic, économique	R., Royal	Sov., Sovetskoye
For., Foreign	Res., Research	Uchon., Uchoniye
G., Gesellschaft	Rev., Review, revue	Vostok., Vostokovedenia
Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc.	Riv., Rivista	Yaz., Yazika
Gt. Brit., Great Britain	S., School	Zap., Zapiski
Hist., Historical, historique, etc.	Soc., Society, société	<i>Turkish</i>
Illust., Illustrated	Stud., Studies	Coğ., Coğrafya
Inst., Institute	Trans., Transactions	Fak., Fakülte
Internat., International	U. S., United States	Üniv., Üniversite
J., Journal	USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist	
L., Literature, etc.	Republics	
M., Morgenländisch, etc.		

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- al-Abhath.** Lebanon and Syria, LL9; foreign, £1; single issue LL2.50, 6s. *q* American Univ. of Beirut; agent: Dar al-Kitab, POB 1284, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Acta Orientalia.** 60 forint. *irreg* Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Orientalistikai Köszleményei, 2 V. Alkotmány-utca 21, Budapest, Hungary.
- Acta Orientalia.** Kr. 30; single issue kr. 10. *irreg* Associates Orientales Bataca Danica Norwegica, c/o Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., Nørregade 6, Copenhagen K, Denmark.
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- American Anthropologist.** Institutions, \$9.00; individuals, \$8.50; single issue \$2.25. *bi-m* Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill.
- American Historical Review.** \$7.50; single issue \$2. *q* American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.; single issues available from The Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
- American Journal of Archaeology.** \$7.50; foreign \$8; single issue \$2. *q* Archaeological Institute of America, 608 Univ. of Cincinnati Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.
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- Anatolian Studies.** UK, £1 10s; foreign, \$4.50; single issue £1 12s 6d. *ann* British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 56 Queen Anne St., London, W.1.
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- tut d'Études Orientales, Faculté des Lettres, Algiers, Algeria.
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- Arabica.** Fl. 26; fr. 2400. 3 issues per ann E. J. Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands; Librairie Orientale et Americaine G.P. Maisonneuve, 198, Blvd. St.-Germain, Paris 7e.
- Archiv Orientální.** Kčs.100; single issue Kčs.25. *q* Československá akademie věd Orientální ústav, Lázeňská 4, Praha III, Czechoslovakia.
- Armenian Review.** \$6; single issue \$1.75. *q* Hairenik Association, Inc., 212 Stuart St., Boston 16, Mass.
- Ars Orientalis** (formerly Ars Islamica). *irreg* Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D. C.
- Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly.** \$1. *q* The Art Institute, Adams St. at Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Artibus Asiae.** Sw. fr. 50, \$12; single issue \$3.50. *q* Prof. Alfred Salmony, Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ., 17 E. 80th St., New York, N. Y.
- Asian Review.** £1; single issue 5s. *q* East & West Ltd., 3 Victoria St., London, S.W.1.
- Asiatische Studien.** Sw. fr. 18. *q* A. Francke, A. G. Verlag, Bern, Switzerland.
- Belleten.** *q* Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, Turkey.
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- Etnos.** Swed. cr. 15; single issue Swed. cr. 4. *q* Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm Ö, Sweden.
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## Readers' Commentary

{ *The Journal welcomes comment from its readers. All communications should be addressed to the Editor and bear the full name and address of the writer. A selection of those received will be published periodically in this column, preference being given to those which correct errors of fact, offer constructive criticism of an opinion expressed, or provide additional information on a topic discussed in the Journal's pages.* }

Dear Sir:

I am grateful to Mr. W. H. Roberts for giving me the opportunity to pay a tribute to the tenacity and integrity of the Persian directors of the National Iranian Oil Company, who, I believe, did and are doing fine work within the very limited scope permitted to them. But my admiration for these Persian patriots cannot by itself persuade me to look at the Persian oil scene through Mr. Roberts' rose-coloured spectacles. "Making the best of a bad job" does not make that job good.

The blame for the present situation lies not with these people, but with those who, both inside and outside Persia, took the decision to surrender. And I find it hard to believe that they were not well aware, when they accepted the Consortium agreement, that it meant the defeat of Persia's bid for oil nationalisation. Certainly it is no new thing that the Persian oil industry should be "at the whim of the international oil cartel"; it was as true before 1951 as it has been since 1954. But between those years there was a chance (remote, admittedly) that Persia might break free from the monopoly, and even start a chain of reactions against it. That chance has gone, and the Persian oil industry, so far as major policy is concerned, is back where it started (for those who have studied the workings of the international petroleum cartel will appreciate that the "internationalisation"—or may I rather say "supra-nationalisation"—of the industry has meant no change of substance in the nature of its ultimate control).

Does Mr. Roberts really believe that rela-

tions are now "on an entirely new footing"? Can he seriously claim that the Consortium, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the companies composing the cartel, is doing no more than a job of technical management "on behalf of the NIOC"? For our answer, we need look no further than the Consortium's response to the Persian government's recent request for increased production. In spite of the fact that Persian oil production is still well below the 1950 level; in spite of the fact that world consumption, always increasing, rose in 1955 by 78,000,000 tons; the Consortium refused to consider more than half the requested average increase of 10,000,000 tons per annum, and merely offered to make "a special endeavour" to increase oil exports. To Persia, this was a sharp reminder that she still does not control her oil industry; to the rest of the world, evidence that oil cartel policy has priority over world needs.

Of course, Mr. Roberts is quite right in reminding us that monopoly control of oil transport and markets is at the root of the problem. As long as this endures, there can be no hope of the free and fair development of the world's oil resources, and supranational oil companies will still be able to appropriate half the profits from national oil industries throughout the world. Persia tried to break this stranglehold; we should not then condemn her leaders for this failure, but rather recognize that Persia's defeat was also a defeat for the free world.

L. P. Elwell-Sutton  
5, Merchiston Gardens  
Edinburgh, Scotland

Dear Sir:

The review of Edmund Stevens' "North African Powder Keg" by Roger Le Tourneau in Vol. 10, No. 2 of *The Middle East Journal* strikes me as a disservice to any fraction of the American public potentially interested in the subject. Instead of reviewing the book, M. Le Tourneau attempts a syllabus of errors, mostly minor and in some cases misrepresented as errors. Having known North Africans rather well for thirty-seven years and visited the area often as journalist and student, I thought the book an honest and intelligent attempt to tell the side of the story which is practically unknown in this country. Certainly there are fewer misstatements in it than in the flood of literature from the French Press and Information Service in New York. I know the Information offices in North Africa which conduct journalists to what they are wanted to see and around the rest. Probably it never occurred to M. Le Tourneau that North African Moslems do not take Frenchmen into their confidence with very few and unofficial exceptions. This is itself a comment on a system of rule now 126 years old in Algeria. It was much the same in Indochina—and in the old Dutch East Indies. What we get is what Bernard called the administrative verity. This is perhaps unavoidable in a newspaper, but disappointing in a learned journal.

A few words about the "errors." M. Puaux was living in Tunis during that interim period after the Resident General fled with the Germans. He gets credit in Tunis for advising General Juin to depose Moncef Bey, and has defended the act in print. There was no Resident General, and the journalist's slip is of no consequence.

The Paysannat in Morocco was devised in 1941 by Berque and Couleau. Puaux presided over it from 1941 to 1946 while its opponents were seeing that it got little of anywhere. It has never been much except on paper, as those who have checked the areas against the whole all know.

To say that "Algerians had no govern-

ment of their own" is a smooth way to put it. They had a Moslem government of three centuries' standing and must have preferred it. As Esquer, the leading historian of the French conquest has it, "it took the French 27 years to end the resistance of the Arabo-Berber peasant in defense of his land, his liberty and his religion." The high officials were Turkish, but the half of the Turks whom the French did not deport fought with the Algerians. Algeria had not been "a Turkish colony" since 1713 (M. Le Tourneau's error), but an independent state, making its own treaties and with no supervision from Constantinople.

Stevens didn't say that all of the secondary schools in Algeria were public. M. Le Tourneau's Franco-Arab "colleges" (secondary schools) had 501 pupils in 1952, according to the *Annuaire Statistique* of Algeria. Nor did Stevens say that Abd-el-Kader wasn't mentioned in university classes. He was discussing lower schools. What is said re Abd-el-Kader in M. Le Tourneau's little Institut of 60 he leaves us to guess. According to the latest official statistics, fifteen per cent of the school-age Algerians are in school. Mr. Stevens says twenty, and M. Le Tourneau doesn't note this error.

Mr. Stevens compared the behavior of others toward Libya. It doesn't seem strange to me, but merely disingenuous, to twist this into a comparison of development. Libya is a desert with two chains of oases and some scattered ones, not the North African *tellus* or nourishing land. The Ente di Colonizzazion in Cyrenaica were vacated by order of the Italian Government before the water was turned on. When I visited the country in 1951 for a foundation, there were miles of unfinished ditch, often with pipe strewn about but never laid.

On the 15,000 or 50,000 'ulama school pupils: *Algérie '54*, a work circulated by the French Embassy, states that there were then 300 with "tens of thousands" of pupils. A 1956 study by Duchet gives the number as 45,000. This after a campaign to close them. Who is in error, Stevens or Le Tourneau?

Stevens did a lot of home work on that book. He did not "simply omit the factor of the past." The reviewer did not like what he said about the French past and tried to spike the book with a bunch of gnats' heels. I think the *Journal* collaborated in all innocence, but what did you expect of a French patriot in Algiers in 1956? And how

long does the reviewer think it should take to reform a country, if 126 years are not enough?

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